

President R. Venkataraman

SELECTED SPEECHES



VOLUME II

This volume contains the selected speeches of President R. Venkataraman covering the period, January 1990 to July 1992.

The speeches have been classified into ten chapters thematically and arranged in chronological order.

The speeches focus on a wide variety of subjects ranging from national integration, economic development, education, art and culture to disarmament, world peace and a new world order.

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**PRESIDENT
R. VENKATARAMAN**

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R. VENKATARAMAN
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VOLUME II
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Shri R. Venkataraman held the office of the President of India from July 1987 to July 1992.

This is the second and the final volume of his selected speeches. It covers the period, January 1990 to July 1992. The first volume of his speeches covered the period, July 1987 to December 1990.

The contents are grouped in ten chapters: National Affairs, Economic Development, Health and Social Welfare, Education, Art and Culture, Mass Media, Science and Technology, Defence, India and the World, Tributes and Miscellaneous. The speeches in each chapter are arranged in chronological order.

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I
NATIONAL AFFAIRS

A Tribute to Indian Democracy

ON THE EVE of the forty-first Republic Day I offer my greetings to all our nationals living in India and abroad. This is a memorable day for us since it was on this day in 1950 that the different parts of India, namely, the princely States, the erstwhile British Provinces and the Agencies were brought under one Constitution and welded into a Union of States.

The distinguished Hindi poet, Balakrishna Sharma 'Naveen' captured the mood of the nation when he wrote:

“कोटि कोटि कंठों से निकली
आज यही स्वर धारा है
भारतवर्ष हमारा है
यह हिन्दुस्तान हमारा है”

(From crores upon crores of voices
One single music-note is heard:
This Bharat Varsh is ours now,
Ours, this Hindustan).

It was also on this day that the citizens of India were guaranteed fundamental rights to life and liberty and were freed from exploitation and discrimination. Above all, it was on this day that every citizen of India emerged as the sovereign of the country through the adoption of universal adult franchise.

Adult franchise is the most powerful instrument devised by man for breaking down social and economic injustice and destroying barriers of caste, creed and religion. It has given the right to the people to choose a government through the democratic process of elections.

In my Independence Day broadcast last year I had emphasized the importance of free and fair elections. It is imperative that elections be free from the maladies of coercion, violence and booth capturing. I am happy that the recent election to the Ninth Lok Sabha has by and large reflected the people's will, though instances of election malpractices and violence were reported from various areas. That nearly 300 million people exercised their franchise and brought about a smooth transition in government especially at a time when, elsewhere, changes of governments have occurred through bitter and violent processes, is the highest tribute to the Indian people and Indian democracy.

The people of India may be poor, many of them may be illiterate, but few societies in the world can match the Indian people in the confidence and maturity with which they exercise their democratic rights. Commentators who used to talk patronisingly of the 'democratic experiment' in relation to India

must acknowledge the democratic expertise that India has developed since Independence. May I take this opportunity to congratulate the people of India as a whole on the disciplined exercise of their democratic rights. I also wish to compliment the Election Commission, the Electoral Officers and other administrative staff for their methodical, systematic and fair conduct of the elections. I am confident that in the elections to State Legislatures which lie ahead of us, some of the electoral malpractices noticed during the Lok Sabha elections will be eschewed by political parties and their associates.

In any democracy, the people do want and have every right to change governments according to their wishes, in a peaceful and orderly manner. Monopoly of political power is an attribute of dictatorships. Hence success or failure in elections should not be equated to victory or defeat in a war but, rather, to one's performance in a sports contest. And contestants must remember that it is only by playing the game according to rules that democracy can be sustained. Democracy is the rule of law. It is also the rule of reason. It is in fact a rule by consent. Every effort should, therefore, be made to arrive at a consensus on all national issues.

In a healthy democracy both the ruling party and the Opposition have a responsibility to the country and surely the people will judge them in the discharge of that responsibility.

But I would like to take this opportunity to share with you my belief that apart from the responsibilities that devolve on the government and on the Opposition, a great responsibility rests with the people themselves. It is wrong to imagine that only governments have the duty to maintain law and order, peace, harmony and progress. The citizen bears an equal responsibility in this regard. Citizenship, it has rightly been said, is a bond. It is a bond between the citizen and the State in which one sustains and is sustained by the other. And that is why our Constitution lays down both fundamental rights and fundamental duties. The late V.S. Srinivasa Sastri had laid down three basic postulates which make an ideal citizen: (i) a sense of public spirit, meaning thereby the desire to sink one's own personal ends in the larger ends of the community, (ii) a practical common sense meaning thereby an ability to cope with and overcome the challenges to individual and collective life that arise from time to time; and (iii) an ability to understand and appreciate what constitutes the welfare of society, that is, what are the different elements that go to make up that welfare.

The assumption of office by any new government confers on it many new opportunities. But the most important of these is the opportunity to strengthen the bonds between the citizen and the State. The citizen and the State working together can generate a kinetic energy as could transform Indian life.

We are all rightly proud of our manifold achievements in agriculture, in industry, and in the development of our immensely promising infrastructure of science and technology. But our journey cannot be considered complete until we have achieved an equitable distribution of the fruits of these major achievements. The elimination of poverty among our people and the creation

of opportunities for gainful employment, should be placed at the top of the nation's agenda. The promotion of small industries, schemes for self-employment, the strengthening of the services sector and of our infrastructure needs to be given renewed impetus. More than anything else, India's startling advances in the field of science and technology need to get integrated with the rhythms of our people's lives.

A palpable transfer of resources to the advantage of rural India is, therefore, required urgently. This transfer will have to be specially aimed at strengthening the underprivileged sections like the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, the urban dispossessed and our women.

The welfare of the weaker sections of our society has been entrusted to the nation's collective care by the founding fathers of our polity. Their advancement must, therefore, be regarded by the nation as its privilege.

The quality of life of the people living below the poverty line is a matter of the most urgent concern. The lack of employment opportunities among them, the low levels of medicare including protected water supply and elementary education cry out for action.

Through steps such as free and compulsory education for all children under 14 and educational coverage for girls, the great disparities in our society can be removed. The General Assembly of the United Nations has proclaimed the year 1990 as the International Literacy Year. We must utilize this opportunity to initiate a series of nationwide activities aimed at imparting a sense of urgency to the problem of illiteracy. I understand that measures have been initiated at various levels and that plans for a complete eradication of illiteracy have been approved for Kerala, Goa and Pondicherry. These have to be extended to major cities, districts and development blocks.

I should like to take this opportunity to share with you two other deep concerns. The first is about the scourge of inflation which impoverishes the weaker sections continuously and undermines the nation surreptitiously. There is a need for drastically pruning public expenditure and ostentatious private spending. Investments that do not provide commensurate returns have to be ruthlessly cut out and all unnecessary and wasteful expenditure completely eliminated. In the last two decades, the savings of the middle and lower middle classes have been greatly eroded and they have been robbed of the fruits of their labour. This section of the population is inarticulate and suffers in silence but it also constitutes the most explosive element in society.

Secondly, we as a developing nation will be unrealistic if we do not pay adequate attention to the continuing increase in our population. The problem of unemployment and the misery that accompanies it are a direct result of runaway population growth. The Government at the Centre and in the States must, with the co-operation of voluntary agencies, make family limitation a peoples' programme. Only then can the rise in population be contained. If this important problem does not receive the attention it needs from the citizens and the States, all the progress achieved by us at great expense and effort will get nullified.

Perhaps the most important of the fundamental duties enshrined in our

Constitution is the one that enjoins us to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India, transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities.

Our saints, from Kabir to Guru Nanak and the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, have spoken of harmony among our different communities as a wise and natural way of life for our people.

The people of India seek peace. They long for an environment in which their tradition of concord can continue uninterrupted. The acts of terrorism which have disfigured life in parts of India are repugnant to our culture and civilization. In recent times, the barbaric practice of taking hostages has also been witnessed by us with dismay. Terrorists who perpetrate such crimes do not represent the people nor the causes which they presume to represent. Terrorists act only for themselves and for their narrow mercenary ends. They only help breed tensions, suspicion and hatred.

I am deeply distressed by the fact that in some parts of the country terrorists have received encouragement and assistance from beyond the national borders.

I would like to take this opportunity to make a specific appeal to our fellow citizens in the State of Jammu and Kashmir to give no quarter to terrorism and violence. The people of Jammu and Kashmir and of Punjab will, I am confident, render to the Government and the administration their unstinted co-operation in the task of maintaining order and national security.

There are no aspirations which cannot be met, no anxieties which cannot be allayed, no hurts which cannot be healed, by dialogue. Differences there may be amongst fellow Indians but suspicion is out of place. Likewise, grievances there may be, but let us not permit recrimination. Let divergences not deepen into antagonisms. An honest desire to understand other's feelings can unlock closed hearts and thaw frozen minds. Let amity and understanding prevail over anger and animosity.

India is a mosaic of cultures. It is in our nature and instinct to seek to live in peace with our neighbours and strive for a non-violent world order. We have no aggressive intentions against any country in the world. Power has not attracted us; principles have. The policy of non-alignment evolved by the architect of modern India, and world statesman Jawaharlal Nehru, has enabled us to carry forward our struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

We seek the ending of racial discrimination and all forms of domination and exploitation. Revitalizing and strengthening ties with our neighbours in South Asia are also a matter of priority for us. We firmly believe in resolving bilateral and international issues by dialogue and discussion.

It is India's hope that with the brightening prospects of improved East-West relations, the world will give up the expensive arms race and turn its resources and energies to the urgent needs of the 'family of man'.

An anniversary such as Republic Day affords me an opportunity to share some of my deepest thoughts with fellow countrymen. I have done so once again with the hope and confidence that as we enter the fifth decade of our

life as a Republic, the benediction of all the saints and statesmen born in our ancient land will abide with us.

May I offer Republic Day greetings to all the sons and daughters of India, to our painstaking *kisans* and *mazdoors*, to our spinners, weavers and village artisans, to our entrepreneurs and technocrats, to our scientists, administrators, creative artistes, writers, teachers and students. I have great pleasure in extending a special word of greetings to our valiant *jawans*, sailors and airmen who maintain an unrelenting vigil on our borders. It is their patriotism and bravery that guards our freedom and ensures our rapid economic development.

I will conclude with a quotation from the distinguished Tamil scholar and yogi, Suddhananda Bharathi.

*“Pirivinai Sai Peedai Intry,
Paei Maha Verikalintry
Urimaiyonki Ullamonki
Unmaiyaniki Vanmaiyaniki
Bharata Jana Nayakam Vazgavei.”*

The lines mean:

May the curse of separatism
And religious frenzy abate;
May our thoughts be lofty,
Our morale high
And may Truth
Prevail everlastingly.

Long live the Peoples' Republic of Bharat

Honouring Creativity

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to participate in the annual distribution of National Awards to Master Weavers and Master Craftspersons. I would like to convey my felicitations to the skilled weavers and craftspersons who are receiving the awards this year.

The list of awardees is as distinguished as it is diverse. From the makers of leather puppets in Andhra Pradesh to the papier mache artists of Kashmir, from the wood carvers of Meghalaya to the terracota artists of Rajasthan, this year's award winners, like their predecessors, represent the entire mosaic of

India's craftsmanship. In honouring these awardees we honour not just individuals but in fact a great tradition.

This tradition is basically a tradition of skills. Few societies in the world can match India's remarkable expertise in weaving and handcrafting objects of beauty. To my mind, India's crafts tradition has two features. The first lies in the fact that unlike other nations, in India every province, every district and every village has had a crafts tradition. Be it urban, rural or tribal, every section of Indian society has had a tradition of crafts that is distinctive and that is of proven quality. The other speciality of crafts in India lies in the fact that our weavers and craftspersons have, for centuries and millennia, used every conceivable medium—be it stone, metal, wood, ivory, earth and even grass—to produce artistic objects of the highest quality. Our artists have shown both skill and ingenuity. They do not use expensive raw materials or specialized instruments. They use the materials and instruments available in the vicinity of their natural environment, to fabricate their artefacts. At Patthamadaï in Tirunelveli district, for instance, plain reeds growing in tank beds have been used to weave what is perhaps the world's most delicate mat.

Wool is a natural product of Kashmir. But this zoological characteristic of quadrupeds has become, in the hands of Kashmiri artisans, the most beautiful carpets and shawls of world renown. Similarly, the genius of Orissa's master craftsmen has converted metallic silver into filigree works of extraordinary delicacy and beauty.

Thus, essentially, in honouring our craftspersons, we honour talent, skill and creativity.

You are all aware of the cave paintings of Ajanta and Sittthannavasal. Those ancient painters knew how to prepare the wall surfaces, mix the pigments and transfer them on the rock face to create frescoes of unsurpassed beauty.

But those artists were also learned in subjects such as *natya*, religion and history. Similarly the *shilpis* of the solar chariot at Konark were more than mere wielders of chisels. They knew what the supreme source of all energy on earth, *Surya*, implied. And, needless to say, all those who worked on the luminous mausoleum in Agra had to have something of the poet in them. Those who positioned the marble blocks on the Taj and inlaid the precious gems on its face were endowed with the vision of poets. Had that not been the case, Rabindranath Tagore could not have described the Taj as "a tear drop on the cheek of Time".

And so the artists who are being honoured today represent not just India's skills but India's soul. They are not makers of curios but moulders of culture.

Our craftspersons and our weavers, therefore, assume an importance that goes far beyond their role as wage-earners. An occasion such as this leads us, quite naturally, to dwell on the status, the problems and prospects of these craftspersons who are more than artists.

It has been estimated that there are four million craftspersons and ten million weavers in India, deriving subsistence from the pursuit of their crafts. It becomes the duty of our society in general and the Government in

particular to ensure that these artists function in dignity, free from exploitation and the caprice of market forces.

“There is so much beauty in the simple articles used in village homes”, the late Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay once said, “but we have forgotten to honour the craftsperson.” Shrimati Kamaladevi, as you all know, was the guardian angel of artisans.

I cannot but also recall on this occasion the role played by another outstanding personality of our times: the late Rukmini Devi. The Kalakshetra set up by her has been much a *kshetra* for crafts as it is for the performing arts. The cultural presentations organized by her led to a flowering of handcrafted objects ranging from the simple *kolam*, the hand woven and Kalamkari fabrics to the magnificent *kootrambalam* built there for theatrical performances. The weavers and craftspersons of India have similarly been fortunate in receiving the guidance and care of Shrimati Pupul Jayakar.

Successive Governments of India have been rendering the most useful service to Indian handicrafts and handlooms over the years by creating facilities for the purchase of raw materials through corporations and co-operatives, share capital assistance, managerial subsidies, training and modernization schemes. By facilitating sales both in India and abroad much needed assistance has been given to artists by the offices of the Development Commissioners of Handlooms and Handicrafts and State Directorates.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Ministry of Textiles and the offices of the Development Commissioners on their catalyzing role. I would like them to know that by fostering crafts and craftsmanship they have served a living and creative link between us and our cultural conscience.

But let me make it clear that when we offer such protection and encouragement to our craftspersons it is not doing the craftspersons any special favour. Protecting our crafts ought not to be regarded as an act of patronage. It is in fact a means of protecting our society from the evil of unemployment and the greater evil of cultural decay.

The importance of handicrafts and handlooms to our economy, as a low capital and high employment activity cannot be overemphasized.

Handlooms in particular, quietly and unostentatiously, employ millions of persons all over the country. Unlike the mechanized monotony of the products of textile mills, every piece of handloom is different in pattern, artistry and look and hence captivates the heart of the people. And yet, handloom weavers are in perpetual difficulties. When the market is good, yarn becomes scarce and when yarn is available, the market is stagnant. A facility for supply of yarn at reasonable prices and for marketing handloom goods when the market is dull, appears to be a crying need of weavers.

“What is culture?” Nehru once asked and after outlining various facets of it said, “Culture first of all is not loud, it is quiet, it is restrained, it is tolerant.” This epitomizes the beauty and ethos of our handlooms and handicrafts. Let us do all we can to foster them not only as a means of livelihood but also for the preservation of our culture.

A Formidable Task

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to this first session of Parliament in 1990. I extend to you my best wishes for the successful completion of the budgetary and legislative business ahead.

The elections recently held to the Legislative Assemblies in nine States and one Union Territory have, by and large, reaffirmed the verdict of the people in the last Lok Sabha elections in favour of change.

My Government assumed office only a hundred days ago. In this short span it has already taken a number of positive initiatives in several spheres to fulfil the pledge it had made. My Government has responded to the sacred trust reposed in it by our people.

The situation in Jammu and Kashmir, which had deteriorated for the last few years, continues to be serious. The Government has noted with particular concern that external forces have tried to encourage terrorism, to internationalize the issue, and to organize intrusions across the border. My Government has acted firmly against these forces. Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and my Government will not brook any interference from others in our internal affairs. The State Government is taking all possible measures to check and curb terrorism and secessionism and to restore normalcy. My Government will take positive steps to remove all legitimate grievances and to accelerate development activity in the State.

The Government attaches high priority to restoring normalcy in Punjab and generating a feeling of confidence among the people of that State. Steps have been taken to involve all sections of the people and find a solution to the problem in a spirit of reconciliation and consensus. The State administration will be firm and fair and there will be no compromise with terrorism and secessionism. The Government has fulfilled the promise of repealing the 59th Constitution Amendment which contained special provisions for promulgating emergency applicable only to the State. My Government seeks the co-operation of all to create conditions conducive to the restoration of the democratic process in the State.

We are proud of the secular basis of our nationhood. The Government is taking measures to strengthen secularism. The National Integration Council has been reconstituted and will meet soon.

The communal situation has improved visibly since the Government assumed office. My Government has taken a fresh initiative with a view to resolving the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute amicably. The solution of such an emotive issue should be arrived at through dialogue and consensus. A three-member Committee has been set up by the Government to find an acceptable solution.

The Government has initiated several measures to provide for relief and rehabilitation of those affected by communal violence, including the victims of the 1984 riots in Delhi and the 1989 riots in Bhagalpur. Special Courts have been set up in Delhi and Meerut to try cases connected with communal riots. The Bihar Government has been asked to set up Special Courts to try cases connected with the riots in Bhagalpur. No effort will be spared to guarantee full protection to the minorities and to maintain communal harmony. The Government is effectively monitoring the implementation of the 15-Point Programme for the welfare of minorities. A panel has been set up to suggest steps for the implementation of the Gujral Committee recommendations on the promotion of Urdu.

To strengthen the national fabric it is of utmost importance that the Centre and the States work together in a spirit of co-operation, goodwill and harmony. To ensure smooth Centre-State relations the Government has decided to set up an Inter-State Council.

The Government has decided to set up a National Security Council to evolve long-term policies appropriate to the regional and international environment.

My Government would like to assure our people regarding the high state of our defence preparedness and the morale of the armed forces. We are fully prepared to meet any external threat.

The problems of ex-servicemen will receive full consideration. The Government is examining the modalities for implementing its commitment to the proposal of "one-rank-one-pension" for ex-servicemen.

The dignity of the nation and the individual rests in no small measure, upon strong and vibrant democratic institutions. These in turn are closely linked with certain sound and lasting values in our public life. My Government will fight those trends which have, in recent years, sapped our democratic institutions of their vitality and strength. The Government is taking steps to ensure that our election system is rid of the debilitating effect of money and muscle power. A Committee on Electoral Reforms has been constituted comprising representatives of political parties and eminent persons. A bill has been introduced in Parliament for the creation of the institution of the Lok Pal. Even the highest political offices in the country, including that of the Prime Minister, will be placed under the purview of the Lok Pal. The Government will introduce suitable legislation to set up a high level Judicial Commission for the appointment of High Court and Supreme Court Judges and for the transfer of High Court Judges. I have also asked Parliament to reconsider the Post Office (Amendment) Bill. The Bill had created widespread concern that it would seriously interfere with the citizens' right to privacy.

A free media imparts strength and vitality to the democratic process. My Government has already initiated steps to grant autonomy to the electronic media. The Prasar Bharati Bill was introduced in the last session of Parliament. The Government is committed to ensure freedom of the Press. Concrete steps will be taken to guarantee the people's right to information

and legislation will be introduced to amend the Official Secrets Act.

The year 1989–90 has been a difficult year for the economy. The growth of production slowed down in both agriculture and industry compared with growth in the previous year. The deceleration in the industrial sector was especially sharp with production growing by only 4.2 per cent in the first six months. The slow down in growth has been accompanied by an intensification of macro-economic imbalances which have built up in the past few years.

The budgetary situation deteriorated significantly in the course of 1989–90. When the new Government took office, the budget deficit had reached Rs. 13,790 crore. Prices came under pressure in 1989 despite the fact that it was the second year of good harvests. The balance of payments, which had already come under strain in 1988–89, continued to show a large financing gap in 1989–90. The external debt position deteriorated further.

Since assuming office, my Government has given the highest priority to improving the management of the economy. The procurement of rice has touched a new high at 9.32 million tonnes. Food grain stocks in the central pool have been augmented and now stand at 11.67 million tonnes compared to 8.34 million tonnes at this time last year. Special efforts are being made to augment supplies of essential commodities through the Public Distribution System and to improve the functioning of the system. Prices of essential commodities such as rice, sugar and tea which had risen sharply earlier have shown a downward trend in the three months since the new Government assumed office. However, the Government is fully aware that the overall price situation continues to be difficult. There will be no complacency on this front and control of inflation will continue to be our first priority in economic management.

The balance of payments problem demands urgent attention. This problem is also basically a reflection of the fiscal crisis facing the country and resolution of the problem requires the restoration of the fiscal balance. There is significant scope for efficient import substitution and reducing the growth in consumption of bulk commodities where our dependence on imports is increasing. However, the only lasting solution to our external payments difficulties is to greatly strengthen the export effort. There are distinctly positive trends in the current year with exports growing very much faster than imports. A concerted national effort has to be mounted to intensify our export drive. Rapid growth of exports, especially exports involving high domestic value addition would receive a high priority in the strategy for economic management. Efficient import substitution combined with rapid growth in exports will ensure that the economy remains on the path of self-reliant growth. A new three-year Import-Export Policy is being introduced in April. The policy which aims at simplifying cumbersome procedures will contain special incentives designed to boost exports.

The Planning Commission has been reconstituted and has begun to work on the Approach to the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The Approach will be finalized shortly and submitted to the National Development Council for approval. The thrust of the Eighth Plan will be to ensure rapid growth with a

special focus on the critical objectives of employment generation, alleviation of poverty and redressal of the imbalance between rural and urban areas. A key feature of the Eighth Plan will be the introduction of structural and institutional changes to ensure decentralization of planning and Plan implementation.

Our farmers are the backbone of our economy. Their well-being and prosperity are the strength and prosperity of India. Sustained growth in rural incomes is a necessary condition for successful industrialization. The Government will pay special attention to the needs of the agricultural and rural sectors, including its requirements for economic and social infrastructure. Our aim will be to achieve substantial increases in the yield of major crops, especially in unirrigated rain-fed and dry land areas. The Government is firmly committed to assuring remunerative prices to farmers backed by adequate market support arrangements. To this end, the Government will introduce changes in the formula for computing costs of production in order to ensure full accounting of all costs. The Government would also associate representatives of the farming community in the formulation of agricultural policies. With this in view, a Standing Committee on Agriculture including representatives of the farming community has been set up. The Government is committed to a genuine Panchayati Raj system to enable the rural population to participate fully in planning and development.

Water resource development is vital for our agricultural strategy and my Government will give high priority to this sector. The Government is also committed to find solutions for inter-State water disputes through dialogue and negotiations with the States concerned.

The prosperity of the agricultural sector is inseparable from the well-being of agricultural and other rural labour. This vast segment is still unorganized and exploited. My Government is committed to working out arrangements for giving them fair wages and a larger share of the fruits of rural development so as to provide them a better quality of life. As an earnest of our commitment to the weaker sections some more land reform laws are being placed in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution to protect them from any challenge by vested interests. The Government also proposes to introduce a scheme of debt relief for small farmers, landless agricultural labourers, artisans and weavers on loans upto Rs. 10,000.

Efforts to accelerate agricultural growth must be accompanied by measures to encourage rapid growth of industry. My Government's industrial policies will be designed to serve the objectives of growth, expansion of productive employment, and balanced regional development. Healthy growth of the industrial sector requires a sustained growth in productivity and technological modernization. Our industry must be made more competitive internationally to provide the basis for sustained growth in export performance. My Government will take steps to ensure the spread of industry to the rural and backward areas of the country. Development of small-scale and agro and rural industries will receive special attention to facilitate harnessing of local resources and skills and the creation of gainful employment.

My Government accords great importance to the public sector. The Government is committed to ensuring functional autonomy of the public sector and creating conditions conducive to its efficient functioning within a framework of wider public accountability.

Science and technology have an important role in our efforts to attain self-reliance and raise the standard of living of our people, particularly of the weaker sections. Science and technology inputs will be used for generating and sustaining employment and increasing productivity in rural areas. We are proud of our scientists. They have played a valuable role in strengthening our development and they deserve our fullest support. The remarkable achievements in the indigenous missile development programme are the result of their dedicated and laudable efforts and are landmarks in our technological development.

The labour force plays a role of crucial importance in the production of assets and yet their interests are not always adequately protected. Workers' participation in management can overcome this problem and also make for better productivity. To ensure this, suitable legislation is under examination.

The Government will strive to ensure for all citizens the right to work to enable them to earn a livelihood and to become participants in the task of nation building. The Government will introduce a Constitution Amendment Bill to enshrine the right to work as a fundamental right in the Constitution.

Protection of environment is essential for sustainable development. While conserving natural resources like forests, the basic needs of the people, especially the weaker sections, will be taken care of. Particular attention will be paid to the interests of the tribals.

The Bhopal gas tragedy is still vivid in our memory. My Government has already announced the decision to provide interim relief to those victims resident in the 36 affected municipal wards in Bhopal. The quantum of interim relief to be provided is Rs. 360 crore. Various social action groups have filed petitions in the Supreme Court on the issue of an adequate compensation for the Bhopal gas victims. My Government has supported their petitions before the Supreme Court and will pursue the case for adequate compensation in the Court. The Government will also introduce legislation making it compulsory for factories and installations using hazardous chemicals to have a minimum compensatory insurance cover.

The Scheduled Castes and Tribes are one-fourth of our population. There can be no real progress for us as a nation, unless we enable them to live with dignity. My Government is committed to strong affirmative action to redress the economic and social injustices which the Scheduled Castes and Tribes continue to suffer. A beginning has been made and several concrete measures have already been taken. The Constitution has been amended to extend, for another 10 years, reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha and the State Vidhan Sabhas. Legislation for preventing atrocities against them, which was passed in 1989 but was not operationalized has been brought into force with effect from January 30, 1990. A decision has been taken to fulfil the long-standing and legitimate aspiration of the

Scheduled Caste converts to Buddhism by extending to them the facilities available to the Scheduled Castes. A Bill to give effect to this decision will be introduced during this session of Parliament. The other backward classes constitute another area of special concern to us and a Cabinet Committee has been set up to consider implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations.

As a measure of our concern for a section of our society facing the most severe form of discrimination, it has been decided to accelerate the programme of finding alternative avenues of employment for scavengers.

The welfare of the handicapped is engaging special attention of my Government and it is proposed to give new depth to programmes for the rehabilitation of the handicapped.

Women are among the most underprivileged sections of Indian society. Our policies and programmes will have, as their basis, the recognition of women's dignity and equality in law and everyday life. The Government is considering legislation to set up a National Commission on Women.

The youth have an important role in the transformation of society. We look to our youth to build a new India based on equality and social justice. Society, on its part, owes a special responsibility to the youth. The best possible opportunities should, therefore, be open to them. We shall reorient youth policies to make them especially responsive to the need and aspirations of the rural youth. The Government has raised the upper age limit for the Civil Services Examination from 26 to 28 years, to help, in particular, youth from rural areas.

Education is essential for the full development of the people. However, we are still very far from our goal of universal literacy. My Government has taken steps for a review of education policy to make it relevant to the needs of our people, and to provide equal opportunities to all.

A sound health care system is an important individual and social requirement. To achieve the goal of Health for All by AD 2000, greater emphasis will be laid on preventive and promotive aspects of primary health care. Effective control of population is also essential if we are to consolidate our economic gains and achievements and improve the quality of life of our people. Concrete steps are necessary to reflect the high priority which should be given to this area. There is need for a national consensus on this.

Our foreign policy is rooted in our commitment to non-alignment and our aspirations for a peaceful world, free of domination, exploitation and war. We welcome the profound changes that are taking place in the international scene and the transition from conflict and confrontation to co-operation and consensus. We will continue to contribute to co-operative global endeavours to promote disarmament, strengthen peace, eliminate racial discrimination, provide environmental protection and build a more equitable world economic order.

Consistent with the high priority attached by my Government to revitalizing relations with our neighbours, we have initiated an intensive dialogue for finding mutually acceptable solutions to outstanding problems,

strengthening friendship and enlarging the areas of co-operation. These efforts are already showing results.

The two visits to India by the King of Bhutan and the signing of the new Agreement on Trade and Commerce reflect the further consolidation of our traditionally close ties with Bhutan.

Our cordial relations with Bangladesh have been strengthened by the recent visit to that country by the Minister of External Affairs.

Our close friendly relationship with the Maldives was enhanced by the holding of the first meeting of the Indo-Maldives Joint Commission in Male.

My Government has taken early initiatives for a comprehensive solution of all outstanding problems with Nepal. Recent talks at the Foreign Ministerial and official levels have led to greater understanding of mutual interests and concerns. Our close and age-old relationship with the people of Nepal will be further strengthened.

The bulk of the Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka has returned home and we hope to complete the phased deinduction by the end of this month. Our Armed Forces have done a highly commendable job under difficult circumstances. On behalf of the nation, I would like to pay a tribute to the valour, dedication and discipline of our Armed Forces and their sacrifices. India stands for the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka. We expect the Government of Sri Lanka to fully honour all their obligations under the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement and ensure the safety, security and democratic aspirations of its Tamil speaking population. My Government believes that this would be in the interest of peace in Sri Lanka, harmony among all sections of the Sri Lankan people, and stability in the region.

Our relations with Pakistan, have unfortunately, come under strain as a result of its continued efforts to encourage and aid terrorism and secessionist activity in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. My Government has made it very clear that we will not tolerate such interference in our internal affairs. We have impressed on the Government of Pakistan the need to abide by the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement, which has helped to maintain peace and provide an enduring framework for our relations. We hope such saner counsels will prevail in Pakistan as would preserve peace and enable us to normalize relations with that country.

We believe that ties between countries in South Asia must be maintained in tune with global trends towards dialogue, openness and co-operation. SAARC provides a valuable institutional framework for promoting such regional co-operation. We hope to expand the activities of SAARC to encompass co-operation in key economic areas, for the benefit of all the people of our region.

We value our traditional relationship with Afghanistan and are taking steps to strengthen it further. We hope that there will be an early stoppage of bloodshed in Afghanistan, with strict implementation of the Geneva Accords and a political solution, arrived at by the Afghans themselves that would preserve Afghanistan's status as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country.

We have continued to strengthen our ever growing time-honoured friendship and multifaceted co-operation with the Soviet Union. Our relationship is firmly anchored in the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation. Our close understanding with the Soviet Union is manifested in a shared vision of a nuclear weapons free and non-violent world.

Our relations with the United States of America continue to grow and diversify. The United States is our major trading partner and an important source of high technology. Our growing bilateral co-operation in various spheres reflect greater maturity in the mutual appreciation of the long-term interests and objectives shared by our two democracies.

The pace of diplomatic exchanges between India and China is being accelerated, contributing to the development of mutually beneficial co-operation on the basis of *Panchsheel*. The Foreign Minister of China will be visiting India soon to carry forward the dialogue. We will continue our efforts to find a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question, consistent with our national interests.

We hope to see an early end to the conflict in Cambodia. A comprehensive solution should be based on full respect for Cambodia's sovereignty and integrity and should ensure the non-return of the genocidal policies of the recent past.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that the last bastion of colonialism in Africa is at long last crumbling, with Namibia poised for independence. The Prime Minister will represent our people in the Independence Day ceremonies in Namibia next week. In South Africa, too, signs of change are discernible. We share the worldwide rejoicing in the release of Nelson Mandela, the symbol of the struggle against apartheid, and we look forward to his visit to India. A National Committee for felicitating Mr Mandela has been formed under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. My Government firmly believes that sustained international pressure must continue to be maintained on the South African regime to bring about the early dismantling of apartheid.

We pledge our continued support to the valiant people of Palestine in their just struggle for a homeland of their own in a peaceful West Asia. We look forward to President Yassir Arafat's visit to India later this month.

Members will be called upon in this session to consider various measures. The Railway Budget and the General Budget will be brought before you. You will also be considering the Finance Bill 1990-91, the Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Bill 1989, the Lok Pal Bill 1989, the Wild Life Protection (Amendment) Bill 1990, and various other legislative measures.

There is a fresh hope in the atmosphere. My Government is working purposefully for building a strong India, an India based on the dignity of the individual, an India where the benefits of development flow to all, particularly the weaker sections, the poorest of the poor. The task is not easy. The challenges are tremendous. But we shall overcome. We are determined to see that our people shall have a brighter tomorrow.

Serving the Cause of Children

IT GIVES ME great happiness to participate in this pleasant function. Although it has become a convention that these Awards be presented every year by the Head of State, I look forward each time to this chance to meet and felicitate individuals and representatives of institutions who, through their untiring efforts, have served the cause of children.

I would like to congratulate the award winning individuals and institutions on their outstanding performance in the field of child welfare. They have richly deserved the National Awards for Child Welfare. Their services have not only earned for themselves our acknowledgement but, in fact, our gratitude.

The child has always occupied a special place in human society; a place of tenderness. Whether it be through the image of Yasoda and Krishna, or of Virgin Mary and the child Jesus, humankind has accorded a special significance to the child. And yet, the child has always been in need of assistance. In our times, deficiencies have come sharply into focus in the child's environment—physical, emotional and otherwise. Poverty, ignorance and disease have deprived so many children of the joys of childhood.

As you are all aware, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child proclaimed by the United Nations in 1959 said: "The child shall enjoy special protection and shall be given opportunities and facilities, by law and by other means, to enable him to develop....."

We are, however, painfully aware of the fact that poverty has deprived large numbers of children in the Third World of these opportunities. Industrialization and urban squalor have added to the challenges faced by children. The rapidly increasing population has led to child labour and its attendant exploitation. According to the National Sample Survey, there are over 17 million child labourers in India—a number bigger than the entire population of many countries. The sight of children being obliged to work in fields and factories and of children begging in the streets are an affront to our dignity as a society. As Dr Vasudha Dhagamwar, the noted proponent of legal relief for child labour has said:

"The child is calmly expected by all of us to support his parents, no matter how young and incapable he may be. Thus it is that we find child labourers whose age is well below two digits, working in all kinds of professions, hazardous, noxious, physically wasteful and mentally damaging, when by every right they should be in school. Everyone agrees that the situation is terrible. But the conclusion is that as the parents need the child's earnings, he and even more so, *she* cannot be spared to go to school."

In this context the need for acceleration of efforts towards the goal of free and universal compulsory education assumes importance. We often forget that the Directive Principles of State Policy in our Constitution say specifically that the State shall endeavour to provide for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years. Principle 7 of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Child also states:

“The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages. He shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him on the basis of equal opportunity to develop his abilities, his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.”

Our National Policy on Education had, similarly resolved to ensure that all children who attain the age of about 11 years by 1990 will have had five years of schooling, or its equivalent through the non-formal stream. Likewise, by 1995 all children will be provided free and compulsory education upto 14 years of age. We must rededicate ourselves to these goals.

The natural curiosity of children has been likened to the enquiries of philosophers. The ‘why’ and ‘wherefore’ of things intrigues children and with each unit of knowledge, they move on to the next in the manner of trained scientists or scholars. This faculty of theirs must be developed as the most precious human resource of ours. And if it can be so developed then we would have not only helped the child but helped ourselves and the country.

The Prime Minister has already indicated the earnestness of the Government to promote child welfare and developmental activities. I am gratified that the Integrated Child Development Services Programme, which is the largest programme of its type in the world, is being expanded further.

However, even for such achievement, there would be the need for sustained, continuous and dedicated efforts on the part of both governmental and non-governmental sectors to foster this greatest natural resource of ours.

As you are aware, our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru recognized the potential of children for nation building. He said:

“Somehow, the fact that, ultimately, everything depends upon the human factor, gets rather lost in our thinking of plans and schemes of national development in terms of factories, machines and general schemes. It is very important that we must have them. But, ultimately, of ourse, it is the human being that counts and, if the human being counts, well, he counts much more as a child than as a grown up person.”

Nehruji’s words re-emphasise the stand which the Government has taken for giving due importance to the needs of the child to ensure his all round development, and as part of the overall strategy for human resource development.

It is gratifying that while the Government is taking all possible steps in this

direction, it is also encouraging and assisting the voluntary agencies in their efforts at child welfare and development.

The presentation of National Awards for Child Welfare to distinguished individuals and institutions every year is only a token of the Government's appreciation of the valuable services rendered by these individuals and institutions. Besides those who have won awards today, several others are doing meritorious work in this area. In fact, our country has a tradition of selfless service and there are lakhs of dedicated workers and a large number of dedicated institutions, which are already engaged in the pursuit of child welfare and development.

I would like to express my appreciation of all those workers and institutions, notwithstanding the fact that the good work of most of them has not so far been acknowledged by formal grant of National Awards. I am confident that all those workers and institutions will continue their dedicated efforts.

Playing a Vital Role

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to extend to all of you a very warm welcome. Most of you have assumed the office of Governor recently and are participating in this conference for the first time. Your wide experience in diverse fields of public service is bound to serve you in good stead. I would like to convey to each one of you my best wishes for a fulfilling tenure of service. To those erstwhile Governors and Lt. Governors who have demitted office since the last conference I would like to convey my deep appreciation of their services to the States in which they served and the country.

The annual conference of Governors could not be held last year due to preoccupations with the general elections. These meetings provide a useful opportunity for exchange of views, perceptions and experiences of value to the Governors themselves as well as the Central Government. I may say on behalf of Upa Rashtrapatiji and my own that we have benefited greatly by these discussions. It will, therefore, be my endeavour to hold these conferences annually.

There have been significant political changes in the country since we last met. The general elections have brought about a change in the government at the Centre as well as in many States. These elections have again demonstrated the strength of the Indian democracy and the maturity of our electorate. It gives me special pleasure today to extend a cordial welcome to our new Prime Minister, Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh. He is a seasoned

politician with vast experience in several positions of responsibility at the State level and at the Centre. His views on the role of Governors in State administration will be of interest to all of us.

As you are aware, the role of Governors has been discussed in some detail in earlier conferences. It is now becoming increasingly clear that the Governor is not merely a ceremonial functionary. In the States where it has been found necessary to introduce President's rule, Governors have had to directly manage some very difficult situations. The political fluidity in some States has put the Governors to great strain and called for the exercise of their judgment with extreme care and objectivity, in the formation of the government. Even in normal situations, a Governor has an important role to play as a sagacious counsellor in relation to the government. Besides, they are also a vital link between the Centre and the State in our federal polity. I have no doubt that you are all aware of the increasing complexities of the functions of a Governor and will invest the high office you are holding with dignity and stature.

We are meeting at a time when parts of the country are confronted with daunting challenges. I would like to specially mention the law and order situation in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and the North-East. The situation arising from the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy is also causing concern.

Under the Constitution, the maintenance of law and order is a State subject. However, the Central Government needs to remain in constant touch with the State Governments and to monitor closely and review the situation. As and when necessary, suitable assistance is provided to the State Governments. In this nexus, Governors can play a creative role.

The Punjab situation remains serious. Terrorist violence continued unabated in 1989-90, with security personnel being special targets. A multi-pronged strategy has been adopted to tackle the Punjab situation. While all efforts are being made to control terrorist violence, the doors for a dialogue have been kept open and emphasis is being given to developmental administration and to the redressal of people's grievances. And yet, a solution has eluded us. We would like to hear more about this from Shri Virendra Verma.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is passing through an agonizing phase. The situation there is the cumulative result of forces which were allowed to operate in the valley in the past and the lack of effective counter measures. The Government has now taken a series of measures to reinvigorate the State machinery and to re-establish the authority of the Government. The introduction of President's rule and the promulgation of Armed Forces (J & K) Special Powers Ordinance 1990, are expected to curb the violent activities of the subversives. The vigil on the border has been further strengthened and anti-infiltration measures have been implemented more firmly along the border. In Jammu and Kashmir, due emphasis is also being placed on developmental administration and the economic uplift of the people so as to bring them into the national mainstream. Shri Saxena will doubtless give us further information on the situation.

In the North-Eastern States, the activities of the United Liberation Front of Assam and the Bodo militants in Assam and the National Socialist Council of Nagaland in Nagaland/Manipur are causing concern. Threats and extortion of money from businessmen have vitiated the atmosphere of trade and economic investment in these States apart from causing serious law and order problems. The activities of left wing extremists in some States like Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh also require firm and positive action.

I am convinced that if our peace-loving and law abiding citizens in these States can be afforded protection against the threats and blandishments of the violent groups, the people's co-operation will be forthcoming and the situation can be retrieved and peace restored.

The communal situation in the country remains delicate. A number of States witnessed major riots. The hardening of attitudes on the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue has added a new stridency to the two postures, thereby raising the communal mercury. Fortunately, the age-old qualities of tolerance and fellow-feeling among the communities of India have proved to be enduring. They have not fallen a prey to religious fanaticism, bitterness or hatred.

We look forward to hearing the perceptions of our Home Minister and Prime Minister on all these issues.

The current economic situation in the country presents a mixed picture. The performance of the Indian economy in the last two years has been quite impressive. In 1989-90 the GDP is expected to rise by 4 to 4.5 per cent. The year 1988-89 saw a very impressive growth in GDP of 10.4 per cent. The overall rate of growth during the Seventh Plan period is likely to be the order of 5.3 per cent.

However, some problems continue to plague the Indian economy and give us cause for concern. The twin problems of budget deficit and trade deficit threaten to cause a serious imbalance in our economy. The Budget for 90-91 aims to keep the budgetary deficit well within 2 per cent of GDP as against an estimated level of 2.7 per cent in 89-90. This reduction is sought to be achieved by a massive tax effort and effecting economy in government expenditures.

While on this subject I may add that the need for austerity and economy in government expenditures cannot be over-emphasised. You must be aware of the recent economy measures introduced by the Government, specially the directive to all the Ministries to cut their expenditure across the board by 10 per cent. I am sure all the State Governments are also aware of the magnitude of this problem and would take similar steps to cut down government expenditure.

I may here suggest for the Governors' consideration that they may also undertake such an exercise with regard to Raj Bhavan establishments. It is gratifying that my esteemed friend, the Governor of Maharashtra, has already initiated an excellent exercise to bring about economy in the Raj Bhavan establishment. I have also instructed my Secretary to effect at least a 10 per cent cut in the expenditure in several areas in the Rashtrapati Bhavan

establishment besides deferring my annual sojourn in Hyderabad. I have dwelt on this subject at some length because the government expenditure has assumed alarming proportions and we need to set an example from the highest level downwards.

Despite a better export performance, the balance of payments situation continues to be under severe pressure. The Government is aware of the situation and are taking major corrective measures towards the improvement of the balance of payments position. The international trading environment is undergoing rapid transformation and our trade policy will have to be fashioned to meet these challenges.

The price situation is giving us cause for worry. Inflation hurts the poor particularly as their incomes are not indexed to prices. It also reduces willingness to save in financial assets, encourages speculation, the generation of black money and distorts investment priorities. Accordingly, the Government has announced a sharp cut back in overall budget deficit for the year 1990–91 by imposition of strict fiscal discipline. On the supply side, the Government has stepped up supplies of essential commodities such as edible oils, sugar, etc. through the Public Distribution System and have resorted to imports wherever necessary.

Poverty alleviation and employment generation need continuing attention in our planning effort. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Government has reiterated its commitment to the rural sector. The developmental outlay on schemes benefiting the rural population is targeted to 50 per cent. During the Eighth Plan, it is envisaged that the growth effort will primarily be oriented towards the alleviation of the conditions of the poor.

The havoc caused by the cyclone in Andhra Pradesh and by monsoon floods in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and the North-Eastern States are a matter of the deepest distress. I would like to take this opportunity to convey through the Governors of the concerned States, my sympathies to all the people affected by this calamity. I am sure the Governors will do their utmost to guide the State authorities in alleviating the distress of the victims, the overwhelming majority of whom are the poorest of the poor.

While talking about poverty alleviation, I cannot but make a special mention of the weaker sections, especially the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Our Constitution enjoins upon the State to make special provisions for the socio-economic uplift of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Giving a constitutional status to the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should make it more effective in performing its functions for the benefit of these sections of society.

I may mention here that Article 245 of the Constitution read with the Fifth Schedule envisages a special role for Governors with regard to the administration of Scheduled areas and Tribal areas. The Governors of States having such areas are required to make annually a report which has to give an objective assessment of the situation in those areas. It has been observed that

the meetings of the Tribes Advisory Councils are erratic and the reports from the Governors regarding Scheduled areas are not always received on time. I am sure the concerned Governors would like to look into this.

The question of poverty alleviation is inextricably linked with population control. Our economic gains and achievements over the years have been diluted by the population growth. As per the 1981 census, India accounted for about 15 per cent of the world's total population with only 2.4 per cent of the total land area. We are adding over 15 million persons to our population every year. This annual increase is the highest in the world. In this background, the need for a determined effort to achieve a drastic decline in the national birth rate cannot be over-emphasised. Governors are capable of influencing policy and attitudes in their State towards making the small family norm a way of life. I would like all of you to consider how the National Family Welfare Programme can be made a people's movement. This is essential if India is to be saved from the dubious distinction of being the most populous country in the world overtaking China by the turn of the century.

I would like to refer to the international situation and India's role in the world affairs. The Minister for External Affairs will, of course, be giving a presentation on this. The last couple of years have seen momentous changes in the world which may alter the global power equations, and traditional economic systems. We have to gear our policies and programmes to suit the changing environment so that we may remain in the mainstream of world development.

In the shaping of bilateral relations, visits play a determining role. I would like, to apprise the Governors of some of my recent tours abroad.

I visited three European countries, Portugal, UK and Malta earlier this year. The visit to the United Kingdom, by an Indian Head of State, after President Radhakrishnan's visit in 1963, served to upgrade significantly our bilateral relations. The British Head of State, the Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, and other dignitaries received me and the Indian Delegation with exceptional warmth and cordiality. The British leadership expressed their desire to strengthen bilateral ties, which acquired significance in the context of the single market in Europe that is coming into being. The visit to Portugal, the first such by an Indian Head of State, went a long way to erase memories of the colonial period. It is a matter of personal satisfaction to me that my visit served to solve the problem of the return of gold ornaments, taken away to Portugal by the departing colonialists from Goa. The fact that this announcement was made without my having to raise the subject during my discussions with President Soares, reflected, to my mind, the Portuguese desire to respond to our gestures of friendship. My brief visit to the island nation of Malta was seen by the Maltese as an example of Indian goodwill for even the smaller States within the Non-aligned Movement. Our decision to open a Resident Mission in Malta was announced during my visit and made the Maltese extremely happy.

The Prime Minister represented the people of India and led a multi-party delegation to the Namibian independence day celebrations, where he also

met the great freedom fighter and statesman, Nelson Mandela. We are looking forward to Nelson Mandela's visit to India for which a National Committee has been formed under the Prime Minister's chairmanship.

The Prime Minister went in June to Kuala Lumpur to attend the Summit meeting of the Group of 15. The meeting provided an opportunity to study in depth the impact of the changing global economic situation on developing countries as well as the imperatives of South-South co-operation. He also combined with the Summit meeting a State visit to Malaysia. He visited the Maldives to further strengthen our bilateral ties with that friendly neighbour. The Prime Minister has just returned from a most useful visit to our time-tested friend, the USSR. His views on the changing pattern of the economy and its impact on Indo-Soviet relations will be of great interest to all of us.

Governors will have observed that during the last seven months a number of successful initiatives have been taken by the Government to improve and revitalize relations with our neighbours. In Sri Lanka, we have deinducted the IPKF one week ahead of the schedule. We had hoped that necessary measures would be taken by all parties in the island to ensure peace, adequate devolution of power to the North-East and security for the Tamils living in Sri Lanka. We, therefore, view the hostilities in Sri Lanka which have resulted in considerable civilian casualties, with serious concern. The conflict in Sri Lanka has adverse implications for us in terms of the influx of Tamil refugees into India and the law and order problem that it can create for us. We are in active consultation with Sri Lanka to see that the hostilities end soon.

One of the most impressive foreign policy achievements in relation to our neighbours is the agreement between the Nepalese and the Indian Prime Ministers regarding bilateral trade and other issues. The visit of the Nepalese Prime Minister culminating in this agreement underlines our commitment to develop friendly relations with our neighbours.

During recent months we have maintained a steady momentum in the promotion of co-operative interaction between India and China. The normalization of relations between the two countries is in the interest of both. In fact, we have to go further to improve and expand this relationship. We believe that the outstanding boundary question should be resolved in a fair and reasonable manner.

As with other neighbours, we are committed to developing friendly relations with Pakistan in accordance with the Simla Agreement. However, Pakistan's interference in our internal affairs through support to subversion and terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and in Punjab, does not help the interest of peace and stability in the region. We sincerely hope that Pakistan will stop its support and assistance to subversion and terrorism in India. For our part, for every step that is taken by Pakistan, we are ready to match with two in the interest of reducing tensions and promoting our relations on the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs.

Friends, we have a very heavy agenda before us. I would urge upon the Governors to be brief and to the point in their remarks so as to give enough

time for discussions and adequate opportunity to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues to provide a sharp focus to the proceedings. I am looking forward to very useful and constructive deliberations over these two days.

A Great Task Ahead

ON THE EVE of the forty-third anniversary of our Independence, I extend to all fellow citizens, residing in India and abroad, my fraternal greetings. It gives me great pleasure to extend a special word of felicitation to the *kisans* who till our fields, to the *mazdoors* who toil in our factories and to our gallant *jawans*, airmen and sailors who maintain an unremitting vigil on our frontiers.

I would like to extend my brotherly benediction to the women of India whose faith, fortitude and fine qualities have sustained our civilization through the ages.

Our thoughts turn on this occasion, with gratitude and reverence, to the cherished memory of our freedom fighters who sacrificed their all for the liberation of the motherland. It was 133 years ago, in the magical year of 1857, that the first salvo for freedom was fired. Different parts of India witnessed a succession of liberation movements, which sought to awaken our people from their stupor. Names of some of our outstanding stalwarts come to mind: Veerapandiya Kattabomman and Kittur Rani Chennamma of the South; *Shaheed* Bhagat Singh and Chandrashekhar Azad of the North; Madame Cama, Vasudev Phadke, Dadabhai Naoroji and the Tyabjis of the West; Maniram Datta, Gopabandhu Das and Aurobindo Ghose of the East. We remember today the great trio, Lal-Bal-Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, and heroes like the Ali brothers, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das.

We are also reminded on this occasion of the charismatic Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose whose battle cry of 'Dilli Chalo' stirred the whole nation.

Above all, we recall today with affection, respect and infinite gratefulness, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation. It was he who converted the nation's aspirations for emancipation into an irresistible mass movement. It was he who turned thousands upon thousands of ordinary men and women into memorable *satyagrahis*.

But Gandhiji's aim was not the mere replacement of the Union Jack by the Indian Tricolour or the substitution of the white rulers by the brown. It went deeper. Gandhiji said once: "Swaraj for me means freedom for the meanest of our countrymen...I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke. I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatsoever."

Poverty, illiteracy, disease and other forms of backwardness such as untouchability and religious obscurantism were perceived by him as oppressive burdens. *Swaraj* without *swadeshi*, self-rule without self-reliance, had no meaning for Gandhiji.

Thanks to the far-sightedness of our beloved first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, the vision of leaders like Dr Rajendra Prasad, Babasaheb Ambedkar and Maulana Azad and the pragmatism of several Chief Ministers such as Bidhan Roy in Bengal, Govind Ballabh Pant in Uttar Pradesh and Kamaraj in Tamil Nadu, the pre-1947 stagnation gave way to dynamic all round development.

Our greatest achievement lay in the transformation of Indian agriculture. From the position of being a country that had to import foodgrains in the fifties and sixties, we have now reached a position of self-sufficiency in foodgrains and maintain a sizeable buffer stock.

If Indian agriculture constitutes a success story, Indian industry and entrepreneurship have not lagged behind. We rank today among the first fifteen of the industrialized countries of the world. From abject dependence on imports in 1947, we have reached self-reliance not just in a host of consumer durables, but in engineering items like heavy machine tools and equipment.

India missed the Industrial Revolution. But we are determined not to miss out on the advantages of the current technological revolution. With the third largest reservoir of technical and skilled manpower, India has made great strides in fields like computers, nuclear power plants, oceanography, genetic engineering, biotechnology and space research. Our national satellite INSAT-ID, launched on June 12, has already become functional for telecommunications, television, radio networking and round-the-clock weather watching at 30 minute intervals. The satellite's "weather eye" will send imageries to ground stations spread all over the country. This will confer a boon on our farmers and fishermen and help save the lives of the people from disasters like storms and cyclones.

If we have soared the skies we have also climbed measuring scales of more direct human concern. Life expectancy in India has shot up from the pre-Independence figure of 33 years to 60 years. Along with health services, educational facilities have spread impressively. It has been estimated by experts that in the number of students enrolled in higher education as a percentage of the population aged 20-24, India is not only ahead of other developing countries, but also of countries with twice India's per capita income.

Even as India's freedom has been achieved without resort to armed rebellion, its economic progress has been brought about peacefully with the consent of the people. Our Plans have been debated in Parliament and approved by the people's representatives. The measure of land reforms, for instance, even though its implementation leaves much to be desired, has been free from violence or the taint of class conflict. All this is a tribute to the Nehruvian concepts of a mixed economy and planned economic development and to our democratic polity.

But to be honest to ourselves we must admit that when all our achievements have been listed and our progress applauded, we are still left with a deep sense of inadequacy in the material and moral development of our people as a whole. Our satellite, as I said, has a “weather eye” that sees the changing moods of the seasons. But we seem to lack a “weather eye” which can see the changing moods, hopes and aspirations of our people.

The poetess and philosopher, Mahadevi Verma put it so elegantly:

वह देश जो अणु का विस्फोट करता है,
वह देश जो आर्यभट्ट को आकाश में भेजता है,
वही अपने मनुष्य को कितना हीन बनाये हुए है।

(What an irony that a country which can split the atom and send an Aryabhatta soaring into the skies, has rendered its people so poor and destitute).

One third of the population of India still lives at the subsistence level. The contrast between the rich and the poor, urbanite and villager, educated and illiterate, remains wide. The child in India, the urban street-child and the girl-child in particular, suffers from painful disabilities. The vast mass of our people have remained outside the periphery of our progress. The distinguished economist, Prof. Amartya Sen has recently said— “India’s ‘self-sufficiency’ in food has to be assessed in the light of the limited purchasing power of the Indian masses. There has been no great ‘shortage’ in the market, no ‘crisis’ to deal with—but at least a third of the rural population has regularly—and quietly—gone to bed hungry and malnourished.”

We must correct this situation urgently. The challenge is of daunting proportions. But it must be met if *Swaraj* is to mean anything to the masses. And it must be met not just by the mechanisms of government but by each one of us doing our duty, whatever be our field, conscientiously and diligently. Of our talents there is no doubt. But do we, as a people, still take that pride in our work which our ancestors—the builders of the Taj Mahal and the Dilwara Temple—did?

The need of the hour is a reorientation of our attitudes to work and to develop a work ethos. If every one, be he or she an administrator, doctor, nurse, agricultural or industrial worker, trader and so on, takes pride in work and decides to do nothing short of the honest best, our society will be transformed rapidly into a prosperous one. A nation’s greatness is not measured by a few exceptional scientists, artists and poets but by the quality of life of its people reflected by parameters like personal safety, clean and wholesome environment, efficient services and amenities of life. These can be provided only when each one discharges his duties, honestly, efficiently and in a spirit of dedication.

Dramatic changes are overtaking the global economy. Controlled economies are fast changing over to competitive regimes and are striving hard to find a foothold in the new dispensation. Developing countries with their backward technologies, poor quality and high cost of production are

particularly vulnerable to the changing pattern of trade. Unless India gears itself to meet the challenge by updating technology, improving efficiency and reducing costs, it is sure to be left behind in the competitive world. It may also be necessary to adapt its economic and trade policies in tune with the new pattern of global trade.

In this great task the entrepreneur, labour, technologists and commercial organisations must pull their weight together in order to carve a place for ourselves in the world trade. I have every confidence that our great nation will rise to the occasion and leave behind for our progeny a legacy of which it shall be proud.

An even more important task, crucial for our survival as a civilization, confronts us. *Swaraj* or self-rule must also mean tolerance and self-restraint. If we examine our social condition today, we will find that the air is thick with bitter animosities. Individual and group ego is inflamed beyond recognition and seems set to either give or take offence on any triviality. Majorities juxtaposed in confrontation with minorities, migrants with residents, farmers with city-dwellers, tribals with plainspersons, are a negation of nationhood. Unfortunately, people seem to take pride in emphasising the differences and not the commonality amongst them.

Centuries ago Sant Kabir, working at his loom, realized that tolerance was the way of wisdom. He sang: "Hari is in the East: Allah is in the West. Look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim and Ram; All the men and women of the world are His living forms. Kabir is the child of Allah and of Ram."

In our times, Mahatma Gandhi, reminded us: *Isvar Allah Tere Naam* and added the prayer: *Sabko Sanmati De Bhagvan*, 'Grant wisdom and good sense to all, my Lord'.

Let us remind ourselves of the great sacrifices that the freedom fighters made for the liberation of the country. They plunged into the freedom struggle without any hope or expectation of reward. Unfortunately, after Independence the very concept of sacrifice for the sake of the country has disappeared from our lexicon.

The phenomenon of terrorism, which has vitiated life in so many parts of India, continues to escalate. Acting with diabolical sophistication, it hits out at innocent men, women and children who have offended no one. Attacks on public servants are particularly reprehensible since these acts of violence hurt those who are only performing their duties. Apart from hurting and killing, the barbaric practice of kidnapping persons has been resorted to by extremists. Let us all resolve to regard these instances, be they in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam or elsewhere, as aberrations from human decency. Our society seems to be degenerating to barbarism and unless the State, with public support, is able to curb all forms of terrorism, we, as a nation will soon forfeit our claim to be the representatives of an ancient culture and civilization.

In this context, I would like to reiterate the suggestion I made earlier that global action to eliminate the scourge of terrorism is urgently called for. We

are aware that such action by the international community had led to the lessening of the menace of hijacking of aircraft and vessels. An international convention not to give asylum to terrorists and to hand over terrorists to countries where the offence had been committed irrespective of any bilateral extradition treaties between them will go a long way to help curbing terrorism.

The sheet anchor of India's foreign policy is peace and friendship with all nations and particularly its neighbours. We want peace and stability in our region. We rejoice that in different parts of the world dialogue is replacing distrust and consensus is removing confrontation. We hope that these encouraging trends will lead to a world rid of war, desolation and destruction.

The tricolour flag will go up tomorrow at the Red Fort, over all public buildings and in countless humble dwellings all over the country. The flag is the emblem of the nation. Its saffron colour represents the age-old spirit of renunciation, the white a dynamic purity and the green the prosperity of the people. The earlier generation had sacrificed its all in order that this flag of freedom may flutter over our heads. It is the bounden duty of this generation to uphold the honour and dignity of the flag and pass it on to the succeeding generation.

Before I conclude, I would like to once again join all of you in extending to our Defence Services our warmest tributes on their devotion to duty and their exemplary standards. They are guarding the nation's integrity and sovereignty under difficult conditions of terrain and climate. I wish to assure them that the country stands behind them.

Let us remember the eternal truth poet Bharati has given us:

*"Ondru Pattal Undu Vazhvu—Nammil
Otrumai Neengil Anaivarkkum Taalvu."*

(United we shall have (good) life, divided all of us shall fall low).

Fighting the Menace of Terrorism

I AM HAPPY to visit the National Security Guard (NSG) organization and to acquaint myself with its activities. Your Director-General has given me details of the tasks undertaken and the measures adopted to train the NSG personnel in the efficient performance of duties. I have myself seen today some of your training activities and have been deeply impressed by them.

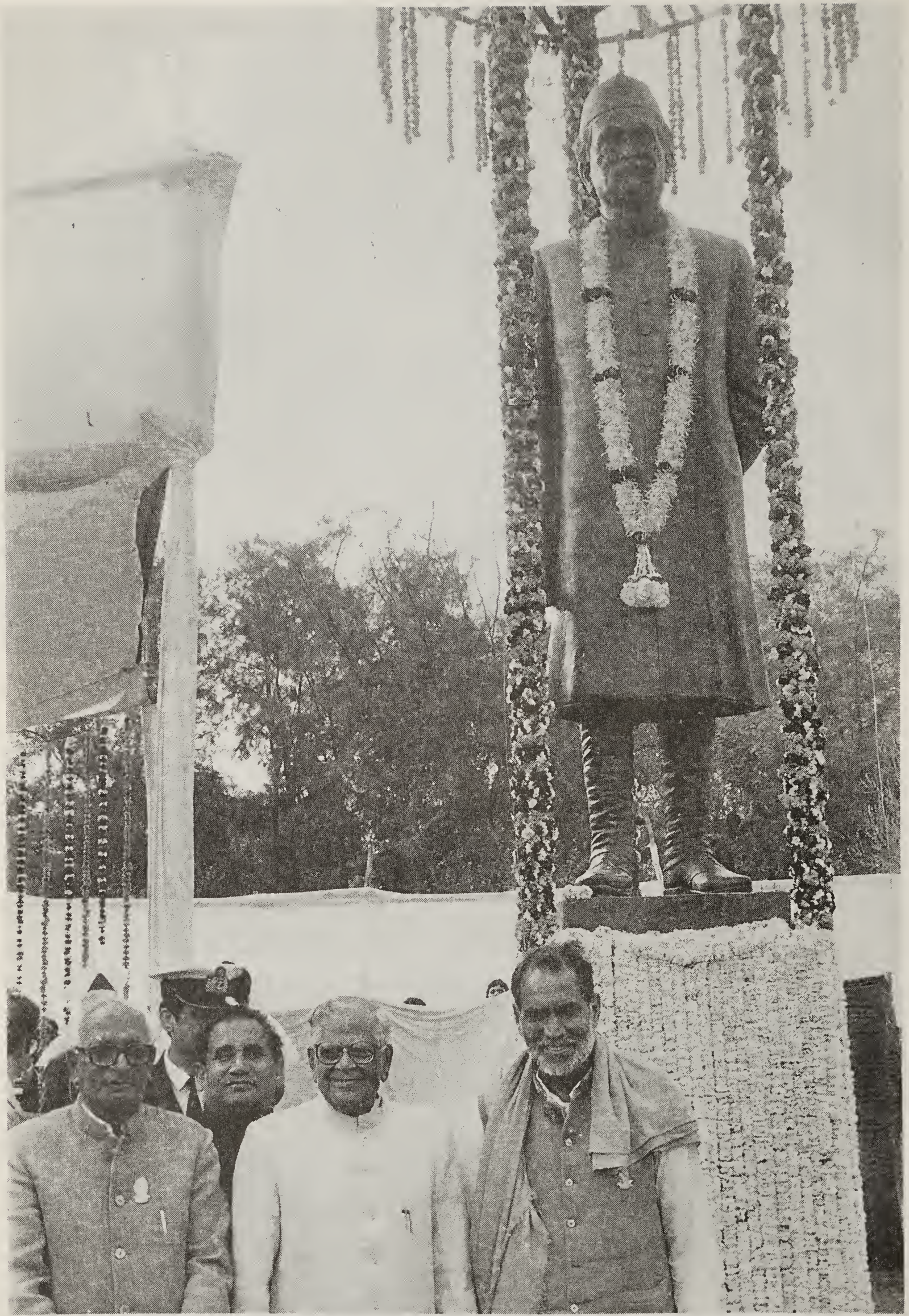
Terrorism has become a menace not only in India but all over the world. It



At the Karmapa International Buddhist Institute, New Delhi, 5 February 1990



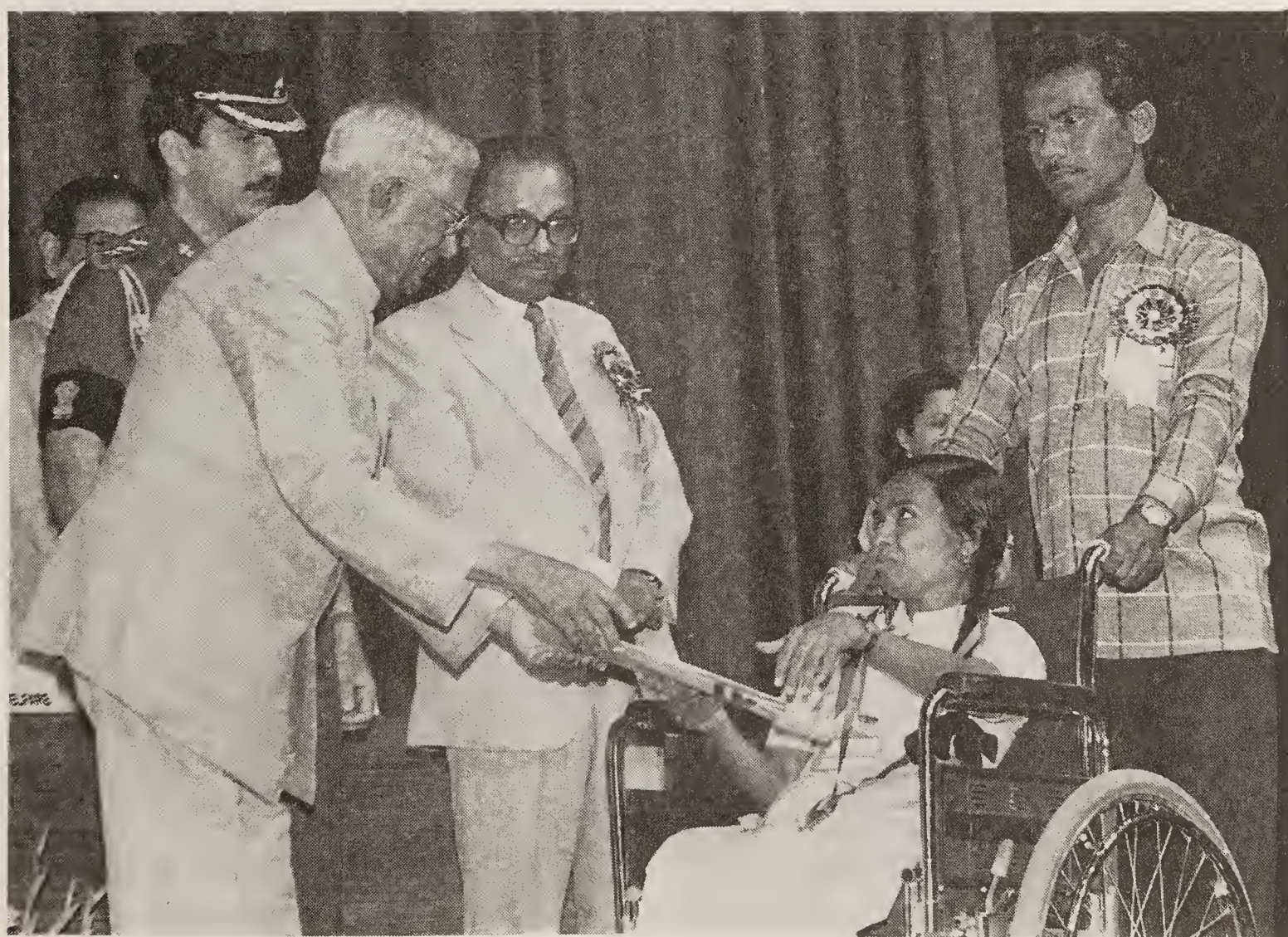
Inspecting a guard of honour presented by the Delhi Police on the Delhi Police Day, New Delhi, 16 February 1990



*After unveiling the statue of Acharya Narendra Dev, New Delhi,
19 February 1990*



With President Gayoom of the Maldives, New Delhi, 15 March 1990



*Presenting the National Awards for the Welfare of the Handicapped,
New Delhi, 18 March 1990*



At a reception hosted by the Mayor of Lisbon City, Lisbon, 31 March 1990



With the Queen of Britain, London, 3 April 1990



*With the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, London,
4 April 1990*



*With Lata Mangeshkar after presenting the Dada Saheb Phalke Award to her,
New Delhi, 7 May 1990*



*A handicapped child tying a Rakhi on the wrist of the President, New Delhi,
6 August 1990*



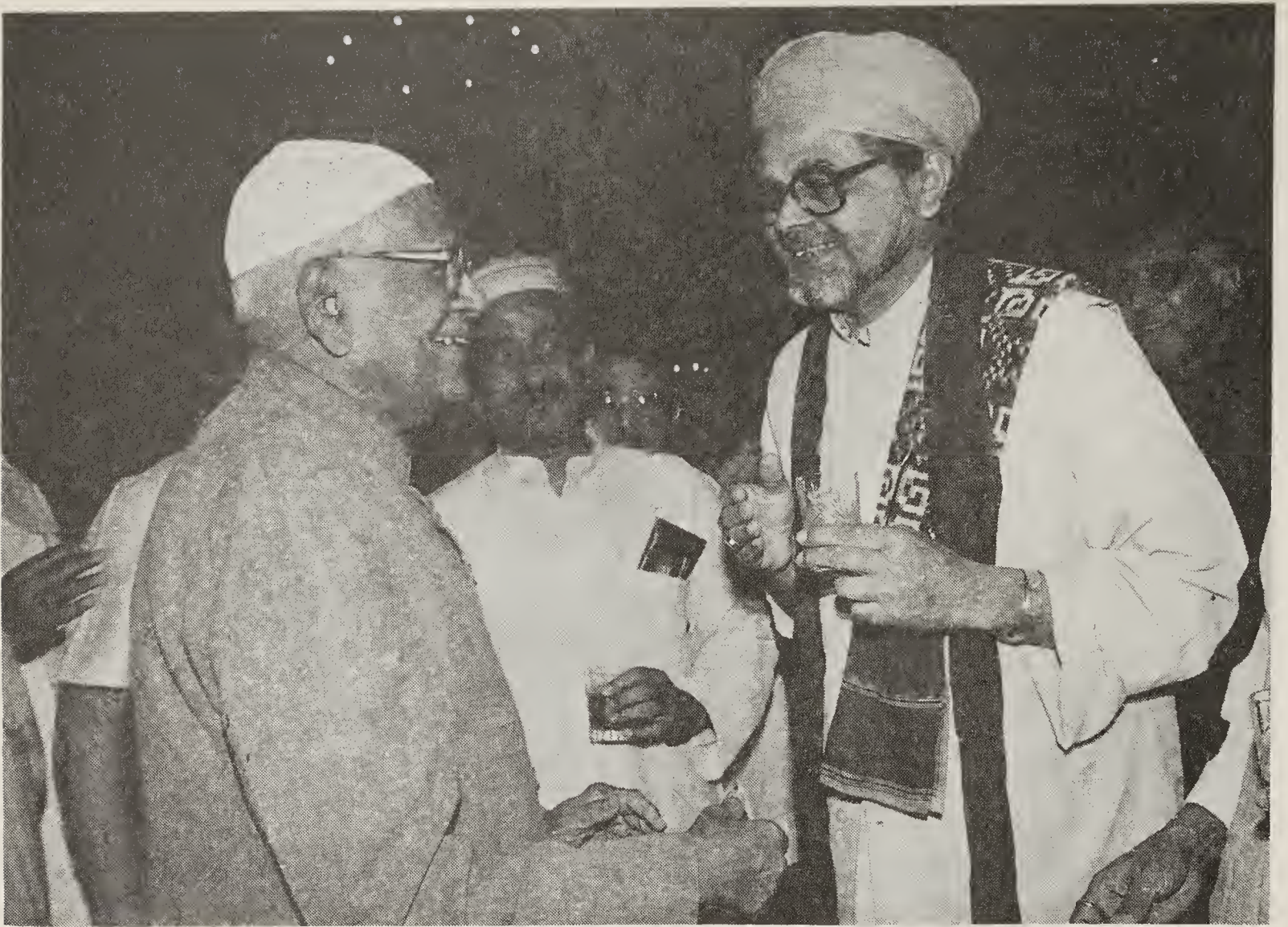
*At a reception hosted in honour of freedom fighters, New Delhi,
14 August 1990*



Presenting the National Awards to Teachers, New Delhi, 5 September 1990



At a public reception, Aizawl, 11 December 1990



At the Iftar dinner, New Delhi, 12 April 1991



Reciprocating children's greetings, New Delhi, 17 April 1991

threatens to destroy human civilization which has been assiduously built over the centuries. It goes against all known canons of democracy.

The phenomenon of terrorism has vitiated life in many parts of India. Acting with diabolical sophistication, it hits out at innocent men, women and children who have offended no one. By attacking public servants, it seeks to prevent them from performing their duties to the citizens of our country. Apart from hurting and killing, the barbaric practice of kidnapping persons, has been resorted to on a large scale.

The Republic of India assures all its citizens equality and fundamental rights including freedom of speech, freedom to profess any religion and freedom to undertake any activity. This is the democratic way of life which our founding fathers have consciously chosen for us. Terrorism, on the other hand, uses terror and fear of abduction, injury or death as an instrument to impose the will of a few people on the majority. Terrorism does not recognize the democratic process and the fundamental rights of citizens to express their will freely. It uses terror and fear to coerce citizens into accepting its ways of thinking. It also undermines the basic foundations of our society, namely, secularism, the rule of law, equality, freedom of movement and freedom of expression.

It is natural that in a country like ours which has been exploited for hundreds of years by foreign rulers, there should be dissatisfaction among some sections of citizens. Democracy strives for the greatest good for the largest number. It also recognizes the right of dissent expressed in peaceful and democratic way. We have many fora like Legislatures, Parliament, the media and others to espouse our grievances and sort out our difficulties.

Our country is committed to the tradition of non-violence handed over to us by the Buddha, Kabir, Nanak, and Gandhiji and there is no need for violence to settle differences of opinion. Our culture, our philosophy and our ways of life completely abhor violence for achieving objectives.

Misguided people are instigated and encouraged by foreign powers to bring about chaos and confusion within our country by supply of arms, ammunition and incendiary materials and training some misguided people in the use of these. It is the duty of every citizen to fight terrorism not only as a manifestation of criminality but as an aberration from human decency.

The need for a specialized force equipped and trained to meet the threats posed by terrorism was felt by the Government of India a few years ago and on this day in 1986, your organization officially came into being with the NSG Act receiving assent from the President. During the short time, your organization has earned a reputation and name for itself for its efficiency, dedication and commitment.

While you have been equipped with the necessary skills and weaponry to fight terrorism, a clear understanding of the foundations and problems of terrorism would enable you to appreciate the need to eradicate this evil from our country and to help the people to enjoy the democratic way of life.

While the State has a duty to fight this menace, it requires public support and their will to fight terrorism on the ideological and social plane. The

expertise of a force like the National Security Guard is needed to neutralize the terror potential and armed might of the terrorists. I am glad to note that the Army, paramilitary forces and the National Security Guard have acquitted themselves very well in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and other areas.

The battle before us is a long and arduous one. Victory is not easy to achieve. Mere possession of sophisticated weapons and skills, though important in itself, is not enough. Dedication, unflinching loyalty to the Constitution, spirit of service to the general public and motivation are necessary to ensure that the evil does not prevail over the good.

I am very happy to hear from your Director-General the success your organization has achieved in the past and also recently in fighting terrorism. You are also training the police forces in various States to enable them to fight terrorism effectively. I extend my good wishes for the success of your endeavours.

Towards a Millennium of Peace

TOMORROW, WE WILL be celebrating our 42nd Republic Day. On this auspicious occasion I extend my cordial felicitations to all fellow citizens, living in India and abroad.

This is a deeply cherished anniversary. The nation gratefully remembers today, the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, our first President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, our beloved first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and the indomitable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who, as Deputy Prime Minister, welded the hundreds of different princely States together with the rest of India. It was on this day in 1950, that the whole of India came under '*Ek Nishan, Ek Vidhan*' (One Flag, One Constitution). A wave of optimism swept across the country and its diverse people found themselves linked together in a new and creative partnership. The celebrated Hindi poet, Sumitranandan Pant gave expression to the popular enthusiasm in these words:

“आओ जन, स्वतंत्र भारत को
जीवन उर्वर भूमि बनाएं।”

(Come O people of free Bharat!
Let us make our land
Yield life-giving energy).

The common man was made the sovereign of the country and adult franchise, the most vital instrument fashioned by man for establishing political, social and economic equality, came to be formally placed in the hands of our people. They acquired the power to choose a government for themselves, through endorsement of the election manifesto of their choice. Sceptics, both at home and abroad had grave doubts about our people's capacity to exercise their franchise properly as, it was felt, they had neither education nor political awareness. But the very first general elections where a 180 million people went to the polls and conducted the most orderly elections, proved the foresight and wisdom of our leaders.

Few countries can boast of a parliamentary system that has our scale and sweep. The world has watched with admiration and even surprise how a nation with the complexity, diversity and socio-economic problems of India had gone through a series of elections with regularity, discipline and maturity. The practised skill of the Indian voter in the exercise of his franchise is now acknowledged everywhere as one of free India's great triumphs.

Thanks to the firm commitment of our leaders to democracy and the growing maturity of our electorate, India has witnessed and participated in nine elections to the Lok Sabha and several elections to State Legislatures. In all these, the people's will has found powerful articulation.

In election after election, our voters have exercised their franchise with supreme *elan*. We have seen governments receiving decisive mandates and have seen those very mandates being withdrawn equally decisively. But, irrespective of which party has won or lost an election, the people of India have been victorious at every election. No more can commentators use the patronizing expression 'democratic experiment' in relation to the people of India. Theirs is no longer an experiment with democracy. Theirs is an exercise in political maturity.

This achievement of ours is, however, no political accident. Its roots lie in our own vast, pluralist civilization. Different systems of belief as also different social, linguistic and cultural denominations have coexisted for centuries in our land as a natural way of life of our people. Our democratic polity is a modern political dimension of this ancient eclectic temper of our population.

An occasion such as our Republic Day affords an opportunity to us to introspect and examine the state of our democracy's health. Today, four decades and more after our Constitution was adopted, we will have to admit that the democratic temper in our country is under stress. Respect for other points of view, patience, forbearance and accommodation which are the very hallmarks of democracy are at a discount. Rancour, recrimination and a readiness to give and take offence are edging out the spirit of friendliness, courtesy and mutual regard for each other. Some of the utterances of rival political parties, give the impression that they are no longer competitors in the endeavour to serve the nation but are bitter enemies drawn in battle array. Even the most contentious cases in courts of law do not leave bitterness behind among the counsel representing the litigants. The same spirit prevails in the Legislatures of mature democracies where, heated debates in the House

do not engender bitterness among the legislators. I am of the view that the first corrective we have to apply to our conduct in Legislatures is to restore cordiality, friendliness and mutual respect among political parties. *Audi alteram partem* 'hear the other side' is the elementary principle of natural justice. Legislatures more than any other institution should respect this principle because members have received a mandate from the people to put forward, within well-defined limits their views before the nation. Any attempt to deny this right by whatsoever method, is an affront to the nation. Besides, the nation is entitled to know the pros and cons of an issue and to deprive it of information by intolerance of the other point of view is the negation of democracy. I would like to make a fervent appeal to the legislatures to practise the art of healthy debate on national issues and problems. In particular, greater attention needs to be paid to the legislative business before the House.

Parliamentary democracy in India has been going through a process of change. For a little over one year now the phenomenon of one party enjoying a comfortable majority at the Centre has been replaced by a different configuration. An outmoded political vocabulary describes the post-1989 Lok Sabha as a 'hung Parliament'. Brought up in the purely Westminster model some political analysts have been dismayed by the fact that instead of the conventional bipolarity with some "fringe" parties at the outer periphery, we now have in our Parliament a many-hued spectrum. There is, in my view, no need for dismay on this score. Numerous examples can be cited of minority or coalition governments working with stability and success in different parts of the globe. We in India may have to adapt ourselves to such a situation if it arises and learn to work together in the common cause, shedding in the process, rigid party positions. In a multiparty political system, we may not be able to avoid coalition governments in the interest of the nation. Yet, there is a great deal of mental resistance to this concept, springing from the past familiarity with a two-party system. It is time serious thought is directed towards the evolving patterns of our polity.

It is equally important for us to remember that in a democracy, a simultaneous responsibility rests with us, the people. Citizenship is a bond between the people and the State. It is for this reason that our Constitution provides for both fundamental rights and fundamental duties. Unfortunately, the air today is thick with the claims and counter-claims of rights. Different strata of our society seem to be worked up about what they perceive as wrongs done to them, all the while forgetting that they themselves may be in the wrong.

Slogans, not conversation have become the normal mode of dialogue; agitation, not discussion, mark the relationship between different groups. We must not forget that Gandhiji resorted to satyagraha only as a last resort after all other means had failed. And even when he did so, he was prepared to suspend or give it up at the first sign of accommodation. And let us not forget that with him *satya* came before *aagraha*. We now seem to have more of *aagraha* than its noble prefix. I would like to take this opportunity to appeal

to all fellow men to look upon citizenship as a partnership which confers benefits only if each citizen contributes his share to the common good of society.

The responsibility of protecting and preserving democracy lies with the citizens. In the ultimate analysis it is they who determine, who should administer the country and how. If they are swayed away from this path of duty by violence, corruption or frenzy, they will be striking at the very root of democracy. It is the duty of the Government, political parties and the people, to ensure that the true will of the people is reflected in the Legislatures by free and fair elections.

Our nation faces acute problems of poverty and backwardness. One third of the population of India still lives at the subsistence level. The disparity between the rich and the poor, city and village, graduate and illiterate, remains wide. Our women continue to suffer great indignities. The child in India's disadvantaged half, and the female child in particular, scarcely knows the joy of childhood.

Our progress has been stupendous—in agriculture, industry and in science and technology. But the vast masses of our people have remained outside the pale of this progress. Our self-sufficiency in food has been a matter of immense satisfaction, especially because this has enabled us to share our farm-produce with other nations in their hour of need. But, for a third of our rural population, the lack of purchasing power has robbed our food self-sufficiency of meaning. The thrust for rural employment given by successive governments should now develop an edge to penetrate deeper into the recesses of rural society.

A transfer of resources to the advantage of rural India is an urgent necessity. This transfer will have to aim particularly at strengthening underprivileged sections like the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and our women. The lack of employment opportunities among our weaker sections, the low levels of medicare including protected water supply and elementary education also call for swift action.

I would like to take this opportunity to share with you my deep concern regarding the state of our nation's financial health. The scourge of inflation has made life for the middle class and the weaker sections a daily travail. The Government's resources have been inelastic, while its expenditure has been galloping. To add to the difficulty, the oil crisis has worsened the situation. All these have caused acute financial stringency. The inadequate resources should not, however, slow down development programmes nor should our national safety and security be denied. Under the circumstances the need for eliminating all avoidable public expenditure becomes paramount. The Government must critically examine every item of expenditure and effect the utmost economy.

In addition, our expenditure on oil import will create a crushing burden on the entire nation. Shortages of essential commodities like diesel and kerosene will affect rural life adversely. The need for mobilizing additional resources is, therefore, unavoidable. I feel that raising additional resources through the

Budget should be supplemented by voluntary contributions from patriotic citizens to help the nation tide over the present crisis. There can be no greater philanthropy than lending a hand of succour to the nation at its hour of crisis. The Government may, therefore, constitute a National Reconstruction Fund and accept voluntary contributions for the purpose of sustaining developmental activities. I would make an earnest appeal to all our countrymen within and outside the country to make substantial contributions to the fund so that our pace of progress may be maintained even during the severe financial crunch.

I know this is not easy in a situation where salaries are more or less static and the cost of living is rising. But I am sure the spirit of sacrifice which has always manifested itself in times of need, will not be found wanting amidst us at this critical juncture. Let us remind ourselves of the fact that during the wars forced on us in 1962, 1965 and 1971 the people of India rose most decisively to the occasion and made handsome voluntary contributions. I am sure in the present war on our economic ills, they will make the same response.

The overall law and order situation in some parts of the country has continued to cause us anxiety. The activities of terrorists in the States of Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab cause us continuing anguish. Innocent men, women and children are being menaced by terrorists almost daily in Punjab. Many, in the course of official duty, have been picked out and assassinated. They have become martyrs in the cause of India's unity. But their families, have suffered irreparable loss, and immeasurable grief. Though nothing by way of compensation can make up for the void created in their lives, it is the duty of the Government to extend all assistance to the victims of terrorism on a priority basis.

But, despite all provocations, the people of India must maintain peace. Provocation, retaliation, or revenge is not the answer to the problem. The path of violence has never achieved tranquillity in any age or clime. The personifications of love and compassion such as the Buddha, Mahavira, Adi Sankara, Kabir and Nanak are our common legacy.

Religious hatred is no part of the Indian psyche. The violence that has erupted in different parts of India in recent months, must, therefore, be firmly contained by the Government and rejected by society, as an aberration from our tradition.

I am happy to note that foreign policy, in particular, has remained an area of broad national consensus. Changes in the government do not alter our relations with other countries, nor our perception of international affairs. A profound transformation of international relations has been under way. The threat of a global conflict between the superpowers has receded. India's foreign policy is creatively responding to these developments. We have been in continuous dialogue with major countries of the world to maintain and strengthen relations with them, while devoting special attention to our neighbours.

The outbreak of hostilities in the Gulf has caused us deep anguish. It is

tragic that war could not be prevented despite efforts from many quarters, including India. There is no doubt that the war will cause widespread devastation and human suffering. Moreover, the positive gains made in international relations as a result of the ending of the cold war might be lost. There is a tradition of excellent relation between India and the countries of the Gulf. We have been assiduously trying to strengthen these relations. The war may undermine our efforts in this direction. The international community owes itself and the world the duty to defuse the situation and restore peace.

The developing world to which we belong, above all, needs peace, because it is engaged in a historic task—the task of rectifying the imbalances created by colonialism; the task of clearing the debris of departing empires. It is, therefore, necessary to work towards a world order that is democratic and truly multilateral and based upon equity and justice.

I have great pleasure in offering Republic Day greeting to all the sons and daughters of India, to those valiant freedom fighters who happily are still with us, to our *kisans* and *mazdoors*, to our spinners, weavers and village artisans, to our scientists, entrepreneurs and technocrats, to our administrators, creative artistes, teachers and students. I take special pleasure in extending our greeting to our Defence Forces whose unremitting vigil on our borders upholds our sovereignty and ensures our economic development.

The flag which will go up tomorrow is the emblem of the nation. Let us all stand united as one man under this banner. May this flag shower benediction on all of us and lead us forward towards a millennium of peace and prosperity.

Tasks Before the Government

IT IS MY privilege to welcome you to this new session of Parliament. I wish you the very best for the successful completion of the budgetary and legislative business before you.

You are meeting at a time of great stress and challenge. The unity and integrity of the country are under severe threat. Communal and fissiparous elements pose a menace to the nation. The economic situation is a difficult one. Inflation and an adverse balance of payments position, aggravated by the Gulf crisis, are matters of grave concern. The post World War II structure of international relations has undergone a profound transformation and the new evolving pattern will pose fresh challenges for us. The situation with which we are faced demands, more than ever before, that the people of India come together as one to lift the country out of its present crisis and set it

on the road to prosperity and progress. We must set aside internal differences, and petty squabbles, all that is narrow, selfish and divisive and rise as one people in the interest of our nation. In these difficult times we must reaffirm our commitment to the basic principles—democracy, secularism and socialism—the very pillars of our nationhood.

The overall law and order situation in the country deteriorated last year. Violence in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab has continued. There was a sharp rise in the activities of the ULFA in Assam. The communal scene deteriorated during the second half of the year and caste violence also increased. Andhra Pradesh and Bihar remained affected by extremist violence.

The situation in Punjab is being constantly reviewed. The Government shares the grief and sorrow of all those who have been victims of the senseless violence unleashed by terrorists. The Government is determined to put down terrorism and secessionism with a firm hand. Security measures have been tightened to curb terrorism and restore peaceful conditions. Intensive combing operations are being undertaken. Steps have been taken to check infiltration and smuggling of arms and ammunition from across the border. The Government is of the opinion that the Punjab problem needs a political solution and has, therefore, taken a number of initiatives. Apart from holding discussions with political parties the Government proposes to hold discussions with even the militants for the purpose of drawing them into the mainstream of peaceful, democratic activities.

In Jammu and Kashmir, secessionists and certain fundamentalist elements, aided and abetted from across the border, have been carrying out terrorist and subversive activities for quite some time. The Government feels that if extraneous assistance to the extremists is eliminated a great deal of subversive activities in Jammu and Kashmir will abate. The Government hopes that the dialogues with our neighbouring country will bring about a change in the situation and lead to a restoration of normal life in the State.

During the year, there was an increase in the secessionist activities in Assam. A situation was created in which elections to the State Assembly could not be held in a free and fair manner and the Government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. President's rule was, therefore, imposed and the State Assembly was suspended. To deal with the secessionists, the State of Assam was declared a "disturbed area" and ULFA declared an unlawful association. Army and Central para military forces have been deployed with visible success. Elections will be held as soon as conditions become conducive to their being conducted in a free and fair manner.

The Government wishes to reiterate its firm resolve to find an acceptable solution to the problems in Punjab, Kashmir and Assam within the framework of the Constitution of India.

With the worsening situation in the north-eastern province of Sri Lanka, there has been large scale influx of refugees mainly into the State of Tamil Nadu. Besides the refugees, many militant LTTE cadres have been

attempting to use places in Tamil Nadu as a base for their activities. Despite the concern expressed by the Central Government, the situation in Tamil Nadu continued to deteriorate and it was generally perceived that the LTTE could carry on their activities with impunity. In one unfortunate incident the LTTE cadres were able to not only kill 15 persons of a rival Tamil Group but also make good their escape. Policing in sensitive coastal areas left much to be desired and offers of assistance from the Centre were not availed of by the State Government. Reports of several unlawful activities on the part of the LTTE and the failure of the State Government to discharge its primary duty of maintaining public order had left the Government with no other alternative but to impose President's rule in the State of Tamil Nadu. The Government, however, is keen to restore a popular government in the State as early as possible.

Communal harmony in the country has been vitiated mainly due to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy. The Government has taken a fresh initiative to resolve the issue through discussions with religious leaders and others so that a mutually acceptable solution can be evolved. It is the firm resolve of the Government to ensure absolute equality of treatment to the people belonging to all religions without discrimination and to promote communal harmony in the whole country.

In my address to you in March last year, I had mentioned about the Government's intention to set up an Inter-State Council to serve as a forum for better co-ordination between States and for securing consensus on issues of national importance. I am glad that the Council has been set up and it has held its first meeting in October 1990.

The economic situation in the country causes grave concern. The budgetary deficits, the oil crisis, the deteriorating balance of payments and the spiral of inflation have caused untold hardships to the people, more particularly the vulnerable sections of the society. The Government has launched a multipronged strategy for combating these ills which includes, *inter alia*, drastic curtailment of public expenditure and money supply; improved management of supply and demand of essential commodities in the short run and increased production in the long run. Fiscal imbalances continuously indulged in the past have left a legacy of inflation behind. These cannot be corrected overnight or by a single stroke of action. Hard options and stern correctives need to be applied to retrieve the situation. The Government had announced a package of measures in December 1990 to mobilize additional revenues and curb expenditure during 1991. There is an urgent need for a national effort to tackle the daunting situation. It is proposed to set up a National Reconstruction Fund to supplement budgetary resources for development work and reconstruction of damaged public property.

The balance of payments has come under further strain and there is likelihood of an additional burden of over Rs. 6,000 crore being imposed on account of the Gulf crisis. It is a matter of satisfaction that our advance planning to deal with any contingency arising out of the Gulf crisis has stood us in good stead. We have taken timely action to ensure that our stocks of

petroleum products remain at a satisfactory level. Measures being taken to relieve the strain on the balance of payments in the short term include export promotion, import restraints and securing larger foreign capital inflows.

The foreign trade situation this year is not a happy one. Exports grew at only 12.9 per cent in dollar terms in the period April-November, 1990 over the corresponding period last year, while imports grew by 20.4 per cent. However, there were some positive trends and exports of a few products registered impressive growth. The export performance of engineering goods, cotton fabrics and ready-made garments, leather and leather manufactures and marine products has been encouraging. The Government will accord high priority to export efforts. Larger industrial houses in particular will be required to improve their contribution to exports. Continuous attention will be paid to upgradation of technology and improvement of quality to ensure competitiveness of Indian industry. Efforts will be made to restructure the industrial sector whenever necessary to improve overall efficiency.

It is against this background of a difficult economic situation that we are engaged in formulating the Eighth Five Year Plan. The situation, though grim, need not cause despondency. Our economy and polity have the resilience to cope with the current difficulties. Our greatest asset is our manpower which we can utilize to advantage. Our performance in the agricultural sector also imparts strength to our economy. The foodgrain production in the current year may be around 175.5 million tonnes. Our reserves of foodstock are at a satisfactory level.

The Plan document will be finalized by March 1991. Its main thrust will be on removal of mass poverty, expansion of opportunities of productive employment and meeting the basic needs of our people. Given the resource constraints, we are required to evolve a much tighter scheme of priorities. Essential infrastructure, particularly energy, completion of on-going projects, irrigation, food security at the household level, safe drinking water, primary health care, primary education and the welfare and development of *dalits* and tribals, women and children would receive priority in the Eighth Plan. The other key features of the Eighth Plan will be protection of the environment and prevention of degradation of land and water resources; maximum use of science and technology to improve agricultural productivity and rural economy; more systematic attention towards agricultural research; strengthening the agricultural credit system; special focus on maximising returns from investments already made through better productivity and efficient management; and appropriate decentralization of development administration. The Government accords very high priority to agricultural development. The Agricultural Policy Resolution is expected to be placed before Parliament in this session itself.

During the year 1990-91, a number of steps have been taken to diversify and give a new direction to the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). These include the extension of group approach for larger coverage of women under the IRDP to all districts and earmarking of three per cent target for the physically handicapped persons. The target of coverage of

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe families and of women has been increased. Under the Programme of Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) it has been decided to double the number of trainees during 1991–92. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana has been continued.

The Government will take necessary measures to accelerate the pace of industrial development. To provide further impetus to industrial growth particularly in backward areas, the Government has decided to implement the new Growth Centres Scheme throughout the country during the Eighth Plan. The Government will also lay emphasis on rural industrialization, particularly through development of Khadi and village industries. Every endeavour will be made to promote the development of the small-scale sector.

A Statement on Industrial Policy will be placed before Parliament in this session.

The Government is aware of the tremendous growth potential of the electronics industry, particularly in the area of exports, and will take measures to ensure that this potential is realized. It will be the endeavour of the Government to develop the textile sector and food processing industries.

The Government will pay close attention to the infrastructure sector. Coal resources will be developed and power generation stepped up. In the area of mineral development the production process will be modernized. Self-sufficiency in steel will be the aim through modernization and expansion of capacity. The Government attaches utmost importance to stepping up indigenous production of crude oil. Even while encouraging oil conservation measures, the Government is conscious of the need to protect industrial and agricultural production. Special priority will be accorded to the requirements of the agricultural sector. Efforts to promote the use of non-conventional and renewable energy sources will continue. The Government will take necessary steps to provide for the rapid expansion of telecommunication services.

The public sector continues to play a pivotal role in the economic development of the nation. There is, however, considerable scope for improving the performance of the public sector enterprises. The current strategy of improving efficiency through the system of Memorandum of Understanding will be further extended to cover more undertakings.

Our scientists have played a crucial role in the country's development efforts. The successful launching of INSAT-ID in June, 1990 has been a very significant achievement. The development of INSAT-2 satellite and the design development of the second generation IRS series of satellites is progressing satisfactorily. In biotechnology, one of the most important emerging fields of science and technology, rapid advances are being made in upstream areas like immunology, protein engineering and human genetics. It will be the aim of our science policy to use scientific development for tangible benefits to the people.

The pattern of development which we should aim at must be a sustainable one. Major initiatives are on the anvil to protect the environment. A ten-year National Forestry Action Plan has been prepared with emphasis on people's

participation. A conservation strategy is being formulated to form an integrated framework for development planning. The policy on prevention and abatement of pollution will promote technological inputs and preventive measures for waste minimization. Environment-friendly products will be identified to encourage manufacture and use of products less harmful to the environment. The concept of civil liability will be codified to help provide relief to those who suffer from environmental damage.

An important task before the Government is to provide effective relief to the victims of the gas tragedy at Bhopal. No effort will be spared to secure fair compensation for the unfortunate victims and their families.

Our armed forces have done us proud. Their valour, professional skill and devotion to duty have stood India in good stead. The nation acknowledges with gratitude the sacrifices which they have made for the motherland. The morale of our armed forces is high and they are ready to meet any external threat successfully. The Government continues to attach high priority to welfare schemes, both for serving and retired personnel. We can also look back with a sense of pride to the notable landmarks achieved by our scientists and technologists towards self-reliance in meeting the critical requirements of our armed forces. Spectacular progress has been made in the Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme. Having successfully flight tested surface-to-surface missile 'Prithvi' and re-entry technology demonstrator project 'Agni' last year, we have been successful, this year, in flight testing the medium range surface-to-air missile 'Akash' and third generation anti-tank missile 'Nag'.

Our efforts at preserving the unity and integrity of the country, and our efforts at economic development, can be successful in the long run only with the wholehearted involvement of the people. Our democratic polity provides the framework for people's participation in the nation building process. The Government is committed to strengthening democratic institutions and in creating conditions which will make democracy more vibrant and real.

Our labour force, both in the industrial and agricultural sectors, is perhaps the most important segment of our population. Upon their sweat and toil rest the fortunes of this country. Amidst all the social turmoil, industrial relations in the country have been marked by stability. This is reflective of the maturity that our industrial system has acquired over the years. All efforts will be made to ensure that the rights of workers are protected and that they get their due share. Special attention will be paid to the enforcement of labour laws for special categories of unorganized labour.

The task of strengthening democracy can never be complete without the full involvement of the nation's youth. We must provide our youth every opportunity for their development and progress. We must create for them conditions in which they can use their skills for their own advancement, the advancement of society, and the advancement of the country. The Government will pay special attention to the generation of productive employment opportunities for youth in both urban and rural areas. It will be the endeavour of the Government to involve youth more closely in efforts at fostering

national integration and strengthening the unity of the country. A meeting of the National Youth Council was held recently. Its deliberations will be taken into account in formulating a national policy for youth.

It is a matter of concern that women continue to be discriminated against and are subject to many indignities. The Government will take decisive action to protect women and secure for them their rights. The socio-economic rights of women and the rights of children in terms of access to nutrition, health, education and security would receive urgent consideration of the Government. Steps have also been taken to improve the condition of the female child, in the context of the celebration of 1990 as the SAARC Year of the Girl Child.

The nation cherishes the memory of Dr B.R. Ambedkar. His portrait was unveiled in the Central Hall of Parliament on 12 April 1990. On 14 April 1990, the nation's highest honour, Bharat Ratna, was conferred on Dr Ambedkar. The Government is fully alive to the urges and aspirations of the weaker sections and backward classes and is committed to protect and promote their interests and help provide them with productive employment. Efforts will be made to make the Scheduled Castes Special Component Plan and the Tribal Sub Plan more effective to promote economic well-being, educational advancement and removal of social disabilities of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Disadvantaged and vulnerable groups among the Scheduled Tribes, such as primary tribes and groups, shifting cultivators and bonded labourers would continue to receive special attention of the Government. The development of predominantly tribal areas is a matter of special concern to the Government. It will be the endeavour of the Government to ensure that the pace of development of these areas is accelerated and that regional imbalances are rectified.

The Public Distribution System has played a useful role, particularly in times of scarcity. Its effectiveness requires to be enhanced further. The Government is convinced that the Public Distribution System must become a major component of our strategy for growth and social justice. The Government's thrust will be to target the Public Distribution System in a meaningful way to serve the needs of the poor, especially in rural areas.

It will be the endeavour of the Government to expand the coverage of health care and improve its quality. Greater emphasis will be laid on the promotion of indigenous systems of medicine and the outreach of primary health care services to the poor sections of society. Improvement in health services for children and mothers will be an important component of programmes in the health sector. Greater emphasis will be given to reducing the growth rate of population so that the benefits of our development efforts are not diluted by ever increasing numbers.

The bedrock of democracy is education and literacy. Mass illiteracy and low standards of education are major impediments to the successful implementation of programmes geared towards uplift of the weaker sections and the creation of a more just social order. The removal of illiteracy will be a major thrust area. The Government will launch a new programme to

eradicate illiteracy and will seek the co-operation of universities, schools and voluntary agencies in this endeavour. The Government will accord the highest priority to primary education and vocationalization of secondary education.

The Government accords great importance to creating facilities to help people secure adequate housing. A National Housing Policy is being formulated. It is proposed to step up allotment of house sites to rural landless families by conferring homestead rights on them. Construction assistance will also be stepped up under the Minimum Needs Programme. The programme of construction of night shelters in urban areas will be expanded.

The international situation has witnessed rapid changes; the cold war has waned and is replaced by greater understanding and co-operation between nations which were arrayed in opposite camps. This poses new challenges and offers opportunities for our foreign policy. Our approach continues to be firmly rooted to the principles of non-alignment and to peace, disarmament and a more just and equitable world order. As a member of the UN Security Council since January 1991, we will continue to strive for the achievement of these objectives and uphold the purposes and principles of the UN charter.

The Government attaches the highest priority to improving relations with our neighbours and strengthening the process of regional co-operation, consistent with global trends. The South Asian region is one of the world's poorest. Peace and stability in our region are indispensable for development and for achieving a fair standard of life for our people.

A renewed impetus has been given to the process of regional co-operation at the 5th SAARC Summit in Male held after a gap of almost two years. At our initiative, the Summit agreed to consider some fresh approaches and extend co-operation to some new areas. We are confident, that given the political will, SAARC can move towards co-operation in core economic areas of direct benefit to our peoples.

We look forward to working closely with the democratically elected Government of Bangladesh for resolving outstanding issues through dialogue and further strengthening our bilateral co-operation.

Our close relations with Bhutan and the Maldives have been maintained and strengthened through high level dialogue.

We have welcomed the adoption of multi-party democracy in Nepal. Our traditionally close bilateral relationship with Nepal has been restored. The significance we attach to our relations with that country is underlined by the fact that our Prime Minister's first bilateral visit was to Nepal. We look forward to expanding our co-operation with Nepal in several areas including harnessing the waters of our common rivers and protection and management of the environment.

Notwithstanding Pakistan's support to terrorist and secessionist activities in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, we have continued our endeavour to reduce tension with Pakistan and have agreed to resume discussions over a wide range of bilateral issues. We have impressed on the Government of Pakistan the need to abide fully by the Simla Agreement. We hope that the

Government of Pakistan will be guided by the long-term interests of the two countries and both our peoples.

Hostilities in the north-east Province of Sri Lanka have led to a heavy influx of Sri Lankan refugees into India. We have conveyed our concern and stressed the need for a peaceful political settlement which meets the legitimate aspirations of the Sri Lankan Tamils within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity and integrity.

Our traditional friendship with Afghanistan was further strengthened with the visit of President Najibullah to New Delhi in August 1990. We hope that bloodshed and violence in Afghanistan will cease. The need of the hour is a political solution, arrived at by the Afghans themselves, that would ensure Afghanistan's status as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country.

We have continued the process of seeking a better understanding with China. Our bilateral co-operation has grown and we have also begun to consult each other more closely on international issues. Negotiations in the Joint Working Group are continuing to resolve the boundary question in a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable manner. We believe that closer co-operation between India and China will be in the interest of peace and stability in Asia and the world.

We have a special relationship with the Soviet Union and our bilateral co-operation extends over a wide range. We wish the Soviet Government and the people well in their efforts to bring about political, economic and social transformation. The Soviet Union has stood by India in times of need, and we will reciprocate their warmth and friendship with understanding and co-operation at all times.

There has been a steady improvement in our relations with the United States of America. There is now a better understanding of each other's concerns and interests. The United States is our largest trading partner and an important source of high technology. We look forward to developing our co-operation further in areas of mutual interest.

Japan has emerged as one of our major economic partners. As an Asian country, we admire the progress that she has made and look forward to further expansion of bilateral co-operation. A closer partnership between India and Japan would be a positive factor for peace and progress.

We have welcomed the unification of Germany which is an event of great historic significance. We look forward to the forthcoming visit of the President of Germany to India and to the expansion of our close and cordial relations with the unified Germany. Our friendly relations and co-operation with other European nations have been maintained and strengthened.

We are deeply concerned at the outbreak of hostilities in the Gulf in spite of all efforts, including our own, to avert this tragic turn of events. The conflict is fraught with grave consequences for international peace and security and for the world economy. The economies of the developing nations in particular will be seriously affected. We hope that hostilities will cease. We are continuing our efforts, in consultation with the Chairman and members of the Non-aligned Movement for an immediate ceasefire and simultaneous

announcement by Iraq of the withdrawal of its forces from Kuwait, in accordance with United Nations Security Council resolutions. At our initiative a meeting of a group of Non-aligned Foreign Ministers was held in Belgrade. We have also been in touch with the members of the Security Council and other nations to evolve a consensus for cessation of hostilities and a peaceful resolution of the problem.

We extend full support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable right to a homeland of their own. There can be no lasting peace and stability in West Asia without a just resolution of the Palestinian question. This problem has been allowed to prolong far too long and must be addressed with full seriousness and urgency. We will continue to press for the urgent convening of an international conference, with the participation of all concerned, to find a peaceful and durable solution.

We support the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the tragic conflict in Cambodia and are ready to assist in this process. Such a settlement must ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of Cambodia.

In Southern Africa, there are stirrings of profound change. Namibia, the last African colony, attained independence on 21 March 1990. In South Africa, several initiatives have been taken which could pave the way for negotiations to end apartheid. The visit of Dr Nelson Mandela to India in October 1990 was a historic event with the entire nation welcoming him as a symbol of the struggle against apartheid.

We are strongly opposed to the efforts to institutionalize discrimination on the basis of race in Fiji, as elsewhere.

I now bid you to your arduous tasks. In this hour of crisis the people of India look to your sagacity and wisdom. We have in the past displayed a sense of purpose, tremendous resilience and a capacity to rally together in the face of challenge. I am sure that these qualities will help us build a strong united and prosperous India.

Ensuring Free and Fair Elections

IT IS CUSTOMARY for me to address fellow citizens twice a year—on the eve of Republic Day and of Independence Day. But today I would like to share some deeply felt thoughts with all of you.

As you are aware, in the next few days, 'We, the People of India', will resume the second and third round of elections to the tenth Lok Sabha along

with elections to the Legislative Assemblies of some of our States and Union Territories.

Although looking at our vast country and the huge population, the first round of polls on May 20 has been by and large peaceful in the greater part of the country, disturbing reports of violence and electoral malpractices have been received from certain other parts. Complaints of booth capturing, rigging, intimidation of voters in some constituencies and killing of some candidates have been received by the Election Commission and by me from the public, from contestants and political parties, Complaints of connivance of some of the election staff in gross violation of the sacred trust reposed by the people on them were also received.

Among the nations that became free after the Second World War, not many can claim to possess the vibrant parliamentary form of government such as we have in India. Doubtless, the credit for this goes to the founding fathers of our Constitution, who had the wisdom and foresight to entrust the masses of India, with the instrument of universal adult franchise. The Indian voter may be poor or illiterate but has functioned with great wisdom and maturity. He has reposed trust generously and has also withdrawn it, with equal determination.

India is acknowledged as the largest democracy in the world. Nowhere either now or in the world's history have over 500 million people been given the right to choose their government through the ballot box.

We are also proud of the fact that we have conducted nine general elections after Independence, peacefully and democratically, to the astonishment of sceptics and the admiration of our well-wishers. The present generation has the duty to maintain this tradition and pass it on to our progeny.

A country ceases to be a democracy where the will of the people is not reflected in the elections and where the sacred right to vote is deprived either by a dictator or by musclemen employed by unscrupulous politicians. All of us abhor theft and look down on a thief socially. And our conscience must, therefore, be aroused when musclemen steal the fundamental right of a citizen to exercise his choice. What the booth capturer does is, essentially, to rob his brothers and sisters of their inalienable right to vote. Parties that gain power through malpractices will not get the co-operation of the people. That a government which does not reflect the will of the people cannot last long is one of the lessons of history.

It is the solemn duty of political parties to ensure that the polling is both free and fair. Since almost every political party speaks against electoral malpractices, it should be easy for all parties to abjure these methods by common consent. If everyone decides not to indulge in malpractices, the objective will be automatically achieved. It is only when one party indulging in lawlessness wants to prevent the others from imitating them that clashes occur and mar the entire democratic process. Let the elections be fought with respect for human decency. Political parties, both ruling and in the Opposition, bear an onerous responsibility in this. It is their duty to ensure that the voter exercises his free choice without fear of intimidation and

violence. No words can be too strong to condemn the saboteurs of a peaceful election process.

A very special responsibility rests on the administration. It has not only to ensure that the elections are conducted methodically but also in strict accordance with rules. Officers on election duty must, therefore, discharge their responsibilities as a 'sacrament', no less. The electoral mechanism must continue to function, with impartiality and objectivity.

Friends, the next rounds of polling will take place on June 12 and 15 and I earnestly appeal to all political parties, individuals, government servants and the election machinery to ensure free and fair elections in the next two rounds of polling and thereby render an invaluable service to the nation and to our people. Let us demonstrate that India is not only the largest but the best democracy in the world.

Building a Prosperous India

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to this joint session of Parliament. I felicitate the Members of the new Lok Sabha.

May 21, 1991 was a nightmare. The heinous assassination of Rajiv Gandhi plunged the country into gloom. His assassination was an inhuman act of the worst kind. He had provided leadership at a moment of grave crisis in the history of our nation. In his death the country has lost a promising leader. Rajiv Gandhi's vision of the future, the optimism which he exuded, his great patriotism, his commitment to the poor, his striving for world peace will continue to inspire the people of India as well as peace loving people the world over.

The previous Government constituted a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Mr Justice J. S. Verma, a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court of India, to inquire into the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The Government is of the opinion that the terms of reference of the Commission should be enlarged and made comprehensive.

The people of India have faced this crisis with fortitude and maturity. Forces which tried to subvert democracy and destabilize the country stand frustrated. The recently concluded general election has once again demonstrated the strength and vitality of the democratic process in India.

The assassination of Rajiv Gandhi has brought into sharp focus the need to arrest the growing cult of violence in the country. The law and order situation in the country has been a cause of great concern for some time now. Violence has continued in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. The situation in Assam,

Nagaland and Manipur has continued to cause concern. Extremist activity in some States has also put the law and order machinery under severe pressure.

Violence and terrorism in Punjab continue unabated. It is, however, heartening that the people of Punjab have maintained communal harmony in spite of the nefarious tactics of the terrorists who constitute a small fraction of the population. Assisted by the Army in the border areas, security forces have been relentlessly fighting to contain the senseless killings, extortions and kidnappings by the terrorists. To check infiltration from across the border, the work on border fencing and floodlighting in Punjab was expedited and has been completed as planned. Elections to the Legislative Assembly and the Parliamentary constituencies in Punjab were to be held on 22 June 1991. However, the large-scale killing of candidates and the atmosphere of fear and terror created by militants rendered it impossible to ensure a free and fair poll. Polling has, therefore, been postponed to 25 September 1991. The Government will continue to deal firmly with terrorism and secessionism. The Government is committed to restore normalcy and to start the democratic process in Punjab at the earliest. However, militants and secessionists will not be allowed to misuse the elections for their ends. The Government stands by the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Negotiations are always possible with those who eschew violence and accept the framework of our Constitution. The Government is prepared to take whatever new initiatives are required and will continue to strive for a comprehensive settlement of all outstanding issues in order to have a permanent and peaceful solution in Punjab.

The law and order and security situation in Jammu and Kashmir deteriorated fast during the past year and a half. Secessionists and certain fundamentalist elements, aided and abetted from across the border, are carrying out terrorist and subversive activities. The security forces are taking necessary and effective measures to combat secessionism and terrorism. Lately, encouraging signals have been received in the form of surrender of many militants. The relationship between the Government and the people needs to be strengthened. People's committees will be constituted at different levels to ensure their participation. At the same time, stern action will be taken against secessionist forces. Special attention will be paid to providing employment for the unemployed youth of Jammu and Kashmir.

Elections were held in Assam and the people have given a fitting reply to the forces of secession. The people of Assam deserve to be congratulated on the peaceful manner in which elections were conducted. The Government will ensure that secessionist elements in Assam are brought back into the mainstream. Genuine grievances of the people will be redressed. Steps will be taken for the rapid economic development of Assam.

It is a matter of serious concern that the forces of communalism have been able to vitiate the atmosphere in the country leading to the outbreak of serious riots in the last two years. The Government is determined to combat such forces and uphold the values of secularism. The Government will not allow the rights and interests of religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities to be compromised. A composite Rapid Action Force will be formed and

appropriately equipped and trained to deal with riots and will be made available to the State Governments at very short notice. More Special Courts will be set up as necessary to try offences relating to communal riots. Procedures will be strengthened to enable speedy and adequate compensation to be paid to victims of communal riots. Places of worship must be treated with due respect. We cannot allow communal elements to defile their sanctity by using such places as instruments to generate controversy and discord. The Government will make every effort to find a negotiated settlement to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue with due regard to the sentiments of both communities involved. In the case of all other places of worship, a Bill will be introduced to maintain the status quo as on 15 August 1947, in order to foreclose any new controversy. The special cell established in 1988 to gather intelligence in communally sensitive districts will be strengthened to prevent riots. The next of kin of those whose lives are lost in communal riots will be rehabilitated by providing suitable employment to them.

We are proud of our armed forces. They have risen to the occasion whenever called upon to defend the territorial integrity of our country, assist the civil authorities in the maintenance of law and order and in organizing relief and rescue measures. The Government will continue to pursue various welfare schemes for the defence services, both for serving and retired personnel. The Government will give priority to the upgradation of and self-reliance in defence technologies.

The Government recognizes that the country is in the midst of an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude. It has been living beyond its means and adopting soft options. We have been overtaken by events. We must act now. No sacrifice is too great to safeguard our economic independence and the country must prepare itself to take hard and unpleasant economic decisions.

The Government is committed to the macroeconomic stabilization and structural reforms which will unleash the nation's latent energy to bring about accelerated development. The Reserve Bank of India has brought about an adjustment in the exchange rate in order to strengthen competitiveness of our exports, to reduce expenditure on inessential imports, to reduce the incentive for capital flight and stabilize the capital account. We intend to take concerted measures in the areas of trade policy and industrial policy reform further to enhance the competitiveness of our exports. We are committed to ensure that the poor and the underprivileged do not have to bear a disproportionate burden of the adjustment process.

Of particular concern is the rise in prices of essential commodities which hurts the weaker sections the most. The Government attaches the highest priority to reducing inflation and will adopt necessary measures towards this end. The interest of the weaker sections of society will be kept uppermost in mind, while framing strategies for this purpose. Measures to restrain growth in money supply; economies in government expenditure; encouragement to small savings; better supply and demand management of sensitive commodities; and provision of incentives for higher production in the medium term will receive priority.

Fiscal imbalances continue to be a major concern for the Government. Despite attempts at controlling expenditure and raising additional revenues, the revised estimate of budget deficit for 1990-91 is Rs. 10,772 crore against the budget estimate of Rs. 7,206 crore. The Government is committed to observing strict fiscal discipline. The generation of black money will be checked. The Government expenditure will be controlled. While making necessary adjustments, the Government would ensure that the burden does not fall on the poor.

The balance of payments position, already under severe strain, was further exacerbated by the Gulf crisis, the direct adverse impact of which is estimated at \$ 2.7 billion. Of this, the additional cost of oil imports alone accounted for \$ 2 billion while the rest was, among others, owing to the loss of exports, evacuation of Indian nationals and reduced inflow of capital. The balance of payments situation has become more critical as the flow of funds from international capital markets did not materialize as anticipated, though several countries did offer help. Significant bilateral assistance has come particularly from Japan as also from Germany, UK, the Netherlands and Denmark. The management of balance of payments is one of the most crucial tasks before us and the Government will not hesitate to take the hard decisions necessary in this behalf.

Exports have a vital role in solving the balance of payments problem. During 1990-91, our exports were affected adversely, resulting in a slow-down in the rate of growth. The Government has recently announced major structural reforms in trade policy. It is hoped that export trade will get out of the circle of low growth, high cost and stifling controls and once again get on to a high trajectory of growth. The Government's ultimate goal is to eliminate all licensing control on the import of capital goods and raw materials except for a small negative list.

The Uruguay Round of multilateral negotiations is underway in Geneva. While attaching importance to strengthening the multilateral trading system, the Government will endeavour to see that the outcome of the negotiations would be a favourable trading environment for developing countries.

Efforts will be made to step up industrial growth. In 1990-91, the average industrial growth was 8.4 per cent compared to 8.5 per cent during the VII Plan period. The Government is determined to work towards making India internationally competitive. For this purpose, fullest use will be made of modern science and technology. The opportunities provided by increasing internationalization of the industry and trade will be fully utilized. The development of the small-scale sector and *khadi* and village industries will receive the Government's close attention. The Government will work for extensive deregulation and reduction of bureaucratic intervention. To this end, a comprehensive review of policies and procedures has been initiated. In order to raise the competitiveness and quality of Indian industry to global levels, technology imports will be liberalized and facilitated in areas where Indian technology does not measure up to international standards. Changes in procedures are being worked out so that the investment climate is made

more conducive for participation by foreign companies and non-resident Indians. Efficiency will be promoted in services required by industrial and other users from financial institutions and banks.

Reforms in the functioning of the public sector are being formulated to improve its performance. The management of the public sector will be strengthened through selection of the best talent available. Public sector managers will be allowed greater autonomy without diluting accountability. A policy is being evolved for disinvestment, including workers' participation in equity and for vacating areas of activity where public sector involvement is not essential and where private and joint sectors have developed capabilities.

To provide a boost to the electronics industry and to promote software exports, a number of measures are being initiated. These would include setting up of technology parks and attracting international leaders in semi-conductors technology to set up facilities in India. High priority will be accorded to expanding the production of crude oil and refining capacity. The Government will take special measures to tackle sickness in the textile industry and improve the price competitiveness of Indian textile exports. Immediate attention will be given to problems faced by the food processing industry, which has a critical relevance for the better utilization and greater value addition of agricultural produce.

The development of infrastructure will receive the Government's close attention. Power generation will be stepped up. Steps will be taken to make the steel industry more competitive. Modernization of rail transport and augmentation of capacity will receive attention. Telecom services will receive very high priority. It will be the endeavour of the Government to upgrade telecom and postal services and to ensure that the telephone reaches every village before the end of the decade.

Science and technology must be brought to the centre stage in economic planning. It is to the credit of our scientists that we have been able to establish internationally acclaimed competence in several areas. During the current year, two major space events have been scheduled—the launch of the Indian Remote Sensing Satellite and the launch of the Indian National Satellite. These represent our commitment to provide services in areas like communications, telecasting, broadcasting and meteorology and relevant data in the areas of ground water availability, forestry, agriculture, and mineral resources. Significant progress has also been made in the development of various Satellite Launch Vehicles. Our efforts at using atomic energy for our development needs have yielded encouraging results. Members will be happy to learn that in the next few months Narora-2 power reactor and Kakrapar-1 power station will go critical. The Government will take all possible steps to accelerate the pace of progress in science and technology.

The total production of foodgrains in 1990-91 is expected to be 177.2 million tonnes. This will be the third successive year of increased foodgrains production and this has happened for the first time since Independence. This is due to the untiring efforts of our farmers and more effective adoption of scientific farm management practices. We will ensure that our farmers get a

fair and remunerative price for their produce. Conditions will be created for further increase in agricultural yields. Agricultural research will receive the Government's close attention. Extension services will be strengthened and modern technology will be made available to our farmers in a usable manner. Technology for increasing productivity in rainfed agriculture would be further developed and efforts would be made to ensure that a package of supportive measures to increase the income levels of small and marginal farmers in these areas reaches them. The development of water resources will receive high priority. The Government will make every effort to maximize indigenous production of fertilizers and ensure its timely availability to the farmers. At least 90 per cent self-sufficiency in nitrogenous fertilizers will be ensured by commissioning the gas based plants at Babrala, Shahjahanpur, Gadepan and Kakinada and doubling the capacities of the plants at Vijaipur, Aonla and Jagdishpur during the VIII Five Year Plan. Animal husbandry will be further developed with emphasis on genetic improvement, animal health and cost effective feed. Particular attention will be paid to remote areas.

Given the difficult economic situation facing the country, the formulation of the VIII Five Year Plan assumes added importance. The Planning Commission began formulating the Plan in 1988. However, due to frequent changes in government, the Plan document could not be finalized. The Government will take necessary steps for the early finalization of the VIII Plan.

India has had a deep commitment to environmental conservation drawn from its ethos. India shares the emerging global concerns in the context of the environmental changes induced by economic and technological activities. We shall take the required initiatives to ensure that our commitment to sustainable development crystallizes. Wasteland and water resource development have enormous potential for employment and productivity. A new policy on abatement of pollution is under preparation which aims at promoting environmentally sound and clean technologies to minimize waste and control pollution. A National Forestry Action Programme is being prepared with the involvement of all State governments. The role of citizen groups will be encouraged.

The youth of India represent a large, creative and vibrant resource segment of our society. Investment in their development is an investment in the future of the country. The Government will formulate policies for actively involving youth in efforts to nurture the spirit of national integration and pride in our country. Linkage between education, development of youth, sports and physical education will be strengthened. The rapid expansion of opportunities for productive employment will be a major objective of our planning and economic policy.

Women and children, particularly those belonging to poor households, are the two most vulnerable groups of our population that need special attention. The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS), the largest child development programme in the world, has completed fifteen years of successful implementation. The Government is committed to expand this

programme during the VIII Plan to cover all the backward and drought and flood-prone areas as well as areas where there are large concentrations of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The Government is committed to the implementation of the Indira Mahila Yojana. This integrated programme for the development of women and children was inspired by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and announced in November 1989. The programme aims at developing a new sense of awareness among women, particularly in rural areas, and empower them, so that they become active participants in the process of social transformation and regeneration. The development of the child will be an integral part of this programme. We will take measures to enforce all the legislation for women already on the statute book. As a first step, we will appoint a Commissioner for Women's Rights with powers for taking action required for the effective enforcement of their rights.

The Government is committed to the socio-economic and educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The composition of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which has been given constitutional status will be finalized shortly. The National Commission will be given all the support it requires to discharge its duties in regard to the implementation of the safeguards and other measures designed for the protection of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and their socio-economic development through the planning process. The National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation will be strengthened. The Government is committed to special measures in favour of socially and educationally backward classes. In implementing these, preference will be given to the poorer sections among them. Where poorer candidates are not available, the benefit will go to other members of the backward classes. The Government will also ensure that the benefits of reservation are provided to other economically backward sections who are not covered by the existing schemes. A Backward Classes Development Corporation will be set up.

Steps will be initiated for the effective implementation of the 15-Point Programme for the welfare of minorities which seeks to ensure that the minorities are protected and that they are not discriminated against in the matter of employment in public services and benefits from development schemes. All possible assistance will be extended for the educational development of the minorities. The Minorities Commission will be accorded statutory status.

Improving the quality of life of the rural poor will receive the Government's closest attention. Efforts will be made to ease the pressure on land by providing alternative avenues of employment. To this end appropriate economic linkages will be established and non-farm employment stepped up. Small, medium and large-scale agro-based and food processing industries will also be established. The Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) continues to be a major instrument for creation of self-employment opportunities and will be strengthened. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojana will be continued to generate more employment in rural areas. A special crash

programme, to be named after Rajiv Gandhi, will be drawn up to provide drinking water to rural areas within five years. Improvements will be made in the primary health care infrastructure in rural areas.

The strength of our economy rests, in a very large measure, upon the toil of our working class, including those in the unorganized sector. It will be the endeavour of the Government to protect and promote the interests of the working class. Efforts will be made to foster healthy industrial relations by carrying out reforms in the machinery for settlement of labour disputes.

Health is an essential element in the development process and a crucial input for improving the quality of life. While there has been steady expansion in health care facilities, a great deal still requires to be done. All possible measures will be taken to reduce mortality and morbidity rates which are still high, particularly among children. A National Institute of Biologicals is being established to ensure safety of vaccines, kits and reagents. To draw upon the strengths of various systems of medicine, the Government is taking measures to promote and develop indigenous systems. Assistance is also being provided to further encourage the study of homoeopathy.

Today is the World Population Day. This is an occasion to focus attention on a global problem, which is of particular relevance to India. We are at a critical stage of development. A rapidly expanding population is exerting relentless pressure on our scarce resources. Greater emphasis will be placed on limiting population through propagation of the small family norm. A multi-pronged approach will be adopted to this end. Integrated health, nutrition, education and motivational services for the people in general and women in particular will be improved and strengthened. Maternal and child health measures will receive special care.

India's greatest resource is its people. The full potential of our human resource has yet to be effectively utilized. High priority will, therefore, be accorded to education. The National Policy on Education formulated in 1986 on the basis of a national consensus contains the framework for our advancement towards a secular, modern, self-reliant and just social order. The uncertainty created in the last one-and-a-half years about the policy has caused much harm. We shall now revive the spirit required to implement the policy with renewed vigour. We must move with confidence and determination, towards the goal of universal literacy and provision of good quality primary education for all children, especially those belonging to the disadvantaged sections. The Government believes that equal opportunity in education is crucial to social harmony and progress. This emphasis of the New Education Policy will remain the Government's main plank. Particular attention will be paid to the education of women and girls. We shall simultaneously improve the quality of education and bridge the chasm that now exists between the world of work and the world of learning.

The highest priority of the Government will be to provide for adequate availability of essential commodities at reasonable prices. As an important part of this effort, the Public Distribution System will be streamlined and more sharply targeted to reach the poorest of the poor, especially those in the

rural areas. It will be an integral part of our strategy to fight rural poverty and give the rural poor a better quality of life. This effort would include measures like ensuring timely and adequate deliveries of foodgrains used in wage employment and supplementary nutrition programmes. The Essential Commodities Act will be strictly enforced to fight antisocial activities like hoarding, profiteering and blackmarketing of essential commodities. The provisions of the Consumer Protection Act will be used more effectively to provide simple, inexpensive and quick redressal of consumer grievances against substandard goods, services and unfair trade practices. An effective machinery will be set up to monitor the entire gamut of these efforts.

The Government attaches great importance to making administration more efficient and responsive to the needs of the people. Particular attention will be paid to those areas of administration where it interfaces closely and directly with the people. The grievances redressal machinery will also come in for close scrutiny to enhance its effectiveness. The Government will complete the drive for filling the backlog of vacancies meant for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in various Ministries and Departments of the Government of India in a time-bound manner.

In foreign policy, we accord the highest priority to strengthening our relations with our neighbours in South Asia on a bilateral basis as well as through the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation.

We welcome the establishment of a democratically elected government in Bangladesh and look forward to working with them in resolving outstanding issues through dialogue and further strengthening our co-operation. We are deeply grieved over the unprecedented devastation caused by the cyclone which recently struck Bangladesh and are contributing to relief operations in a spirit of friendship and good neighbourliness.

Our relations with the Maldives continue to progress on the basis of mutual trust and co-operation. The Maldives too, has been the victim of severe cyclones. India has been participating actively in relief efforts.

Our close relations and co-operation with Bhutan will be further consolidated and strengthened.

The emergence of multi-party democracy in Nepal will further strengthen our uniquely close ties. Over the past year, high level exchanges of visits have reinforced our political understanding and imparted a shared determination to intensify co-operation in areas of mutual benefit.

The Government will continue the endeavour to reduce tensions with Pakistan. Agreements have been reached on several confidence building measures, including on providing advance notification of military exercises and prevention of airspace violation by military aircraft. We believe that all differences with Pakistan should be resolved bilaterally and peacefully on the basis of the Simla Agreement. However, Pakistan's support to terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir is a matter of serious concern and stands in the way of a genuine and sustained improvement in our relationship.

We are concerned at the continuing violence in Sri Lanka which has caused unending human suffering and led to nearly two lakh Sri Lankan nationals

taking refuge on our soil. It is important that efforts for a lasting and durable solution to the ethnic issue are intensified and conditions created for the return of these refugees at the earliest. The India-Sri Lanka Agreement continues to provide a viable framework for this objective.

We have continued to strengthen our traditional ties of friendship and co-operation with our close neighbour, Afghanistan. We are concerned that resumed military activity would cause a set-back to the peace process. We hope that peace and normalcy will be restored soon through a political settlement. India will continue to work for a strong, stable, independent and non-aligned Afghanistan.

Since the visit of Shri Rajiv Gandhi to China in 1988, there has been a marked improvement in India-China relations and we will seek to strengthen this process. The two countries have reached agreement on reopening their Consulates in Bombay and Shanghai respectively and also to resume border trade. The scale of scientific and technical exchanges as well as cultural exchanges has been steadily expanded. The outstanding question of the boundary between the two countries should be settled in a fair and reasonable manner. Better understanding and co-operation between India and China will have a positive impact on peace and stability in our region and the world.

The Soviet Union is a major partner with whom we have friendly relations and wide-ranging, mutually beneficial co-operation. We wish the people of the Soviet Union success in their efforts to bring about a transformation in their country. We are confident that our bilateral relations with that great country will continue to develop in an atmosphere of traditional warmth and understanding.

We look forward to the further development of our relations with the United States of America. We believe that building a mutually beneficial and mature relationship is a goal shared by both countries. Indo-US co-operation in the commercial, scientific, technical and cultural fields has been steadily intensified.

We will continue to monitor closely the post-war developments in the Gulf region, a region with which we have deep-rooted, historic links. We hope that the new security arrangements that are being put in place would be based upon the initiative of the countries of the region and worked out under the overall aegis of the UN.

There can be no durable or stable peace in West Asia without a comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem. India has consistently supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people and has recognized Palestine as an independent State. We remain committed to supporting a settlement based on the Palestinian right to self-determination, the vacation of all Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the security of all the States in the region.

We have traditionally had good relations with all the countries of Europe. The European Community is our major trading partner and a key source of investment and technology. We also recognize its growing potential as a political and economic entity. We will remain in close touch with the Community.

Our friendly relations with Germany have been strengthened with the visit of the President of Germany to India. Later this year in September, the Festival of India in Germany will be inaugurated in celebration of the cultural and intellectual interchange that has been a hallmark of Indo-German relations in the past decades.

The countries of Eastern Europe have witnessed momentous changes in recent years. India welcomes the success of the democratic movements in these countries and looks forward to strengthening our traditional bonds of friendly relations with them.

We desire the strengthening of our relations with Japan, which is already one of our major economic partners. We have engaged in a constructive dialogue with Japan on the entire range of matters of mutual concern. We appreciate the support they have extended to us.

The Government will continue to maintain close and friendly contacts with all the countries of South-East Asia. We will continue to participate in the process of finding a political solution to the Cambodian conflict, consistent with the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and the non-aligned status of Cambodia.

We remain totally opposed to the continuing efforts to institutionalize racial discrimination in Fiji.

We welcome the measures taken by the South African Government to remove the statutory pillars of apartheid. We fully support the demand of the African National Congress to implement further measures, which will lead to the irreversible elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

In the short period of our current membership of the United Nations Security Council, since January this year, we have endeavoured to project not only our own national policies and aspirations but also serve the cause of maintaining international peace and security, in consonance with our faith in multilateralism.

Our foreign policy will take into account the far-reaching changes taking place in the international situation while adhering firmly to the principles of non-alignment. We will continue to work for peace and disarmament and for global co-operation to reduce poverty and improve living standards in the developing nations.

The main task before you will be the adoption of the Budget for 1991-92 and several measures of grave national importance. I am sure that your deliberations will be marked by maturity and wisdom and guided by patriotic and selfless devotion to the cause of the nation.

The crisis with which we are confronted today makes this session of Parliament a particularly important one. You must give the lead and set the tone which will instil confidence in our people and enthuse them in the task of nation building. You have before you the historic task of building a strong and prosperous India, a humane India, an India where there is social harmony and communal amity, an India from which poverty has been eradicated, an India based on equality and social justice.

Strengthening the Sinews of the Nation

TOMORROW WILL HERALD the forty-fourth anniversary of our Independence. On the eve of this auspicious occasion, I have great pleasure in conveying to all fellow citizens residing in India and abroad, my greetings and good wishes. To our *kisans* and *mazdoors*, whose strenuous labour has sustained the progress of our country, I would like to offer my sincere thanks. To our valiant *jawans*, sailors and airmen whose unremitting vigil protects our frontiers, I take pride in extending my warmest appreciation. And, to the women of India, who have cradled our civilization for millennia and have achieved parity with men in every respect, I offer a brother's blessings.

Our thoughts turn in deep gratitude today to the great pageant of our freedom struggle which commenced in the magical year of 1857. The torch that was lit by Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, Tantia Tope and Bahadur Shah Zafar, was held aloft decade after decade by our brave people who made the most heroic sacrifices to free India from bondage. We remember today, in particular, Mahatma Gandhi who came as a beacon of light to lead us out of the darkness of political thralldom. The world had seen many a great revolutionary before, but here was one who sought to revolutionize revolution itself. Talented and courageous leaders from all corners of the country flocked under his banner.

To the great leaders and to all the countless foot-soldiers in the battle for liberation we offer, this day, our respectful salutations.

But we cannot stop with the paying of tributes. That would be altogether inadequate and even unworthy. The architects of our freedom had no interest in winning applause. Their aim was larger: to win Swaraj not as an end in itself but as a means for building a new society based on social justice. We must, therefore, take pause to introspect and ask ourselves if that object has been realized. Has Swaraj translated itself into the desired *su-raaj* or not?

If we examine the brief record of independent India, we cannot but derive satisfaction from the fact that, thanks to the path of planned economic development ushered in by our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, the pre-1947 dormancy was replaced by a comprehensive dynamism. Indian agriculture has, as a result, achieved a desirable level of self-sufficiency. Indian industry and entrepreneurship has boomed and we are now placed among the first fifteen of the industrialized countries of the world. We have reached a stage of self-reliance in items like heavy machine tools and equipment, in the generation of energy—both atomic and conventional—and in an array of consumer durables.

India has made great strides in fields like computers, oceanography, space research, genetic engineering and biotechnology. We are also one of a

handful of countries which can maintain the full nuclear fuel cycle—from the refining of the ore to the reprocessing of the waste.

And thanks to the creative pragmatism of several Chief Ministers, the quality of life for the common man has registered a marked improvement. Life expectancy which was barely 32 years at the time of our Independence has gone up to 60 years. Literacy has spread impressively, with Kerala doing all of us proud by its cent per cent achievement. And although much remains to be done to improve their lot, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have come into their own all over the country.

Having said this, we will nonetheless have to admit that within the profile of progress, the expression on India's face is not one of satisfaction. The sharp contrast between the haves and the have-nots, the rich urbanite and the slum-dweller, the employed and the jobless, the sheltered child and the street-child is a matter of deep regret. A third of the population of India lives at what is termed 'the subsistence level'. Swaraj has meant little to the deprived and unprivileged.

A major reason is, without doubt, the disconcerting rise in our population which dilutes if not nullifies the progress we make. A national plan of action for stabilizing our population needs the highest priority. Higher percentage of literacy synchronizes with a lower rate of population growth as is evidenced in Kerala. Implementation of the Directive Principle of compulsory primary education may serve the dual purposes of advancing literacy and containing the population explosion.

Living beyond one's means is not only dangerous to a person but to the nation as well. In a country with our limited resources, non-productive and non-developmental expenditure is not just wrong; it is immoral. For far too long have public funds been looked upon as departmental dowry, not as a trust. This has got to change.

But at a more fundamental level, another failure on our part as a people needs to be acknowledged. It is the failure to think of India as one family and work unitedly towards the common goal of a prosperous and equitable social order.

We are living in a world that is racing ahead on the wings of science and technology. We missed the Industrial Revolution because, as a colony, the initiative did not lie with us. It does, now. We must not miss the opportunities for rapid advancement. If we do, posterity will not forgive us. We must make common cause and work with a sense of creative mutuality, each individual, group and sector making its own contribution to the whole.

It would be instructive to remind ourselves that during the freedom movement everyone wanted to give, never to take. People gave of their own time, talents and financial resources generously. The nation came first, the self was always the last. The spirit of sacrifice that animated our freedom fighters has completely disappeared from the lexicon of their progeny. We have to recapture the spirit of dedicated service to the nation whatever be the walk of life we may be engaged in.

We must remind ourselves:

न कर्मणा न प्रजया धनेन
त्यागेनैके अमृतत्वम् आनशुः

(Neither rituals; nor progeny; nor wealth;
But only renunciation brings true happiness).

A country which has preached the concept of the performance of duties without counting the fruits thereof should not fail to practise it for the welfare of its people.

With the transfer of power, this sequence seems to have changed. Competition has replaced co-operation, antagonism has displaced accord. Provincial, linguistic and class animosities have come to be added to the odious divides of religion and caste. Citizenship is now folded-up into a hundred parts such as north-south, majority-minority, rural-urban, forward-backward, backward-scheduled, insider-outsider. The list is endless. This multiplicity of its denominational folds had robbed Indian citizenship of its basic identity. It has made each segment sharply insecure and intolerant. One community snaps at the other, one caste snarls at another. Gandhiji was fond of the hymn which says 'He is the true Vaishnava who knows the *peeda*—pain—of others.' All of us remain absorbed in our own *peeda*, not in that of others or that of the nation as a whole.

I would like to take the opportunity provided by this national anniversary to make a plea for the adoption by all Indians of a truly national perspective as against a compartmentalized one. Management and labour, landowners and cultivators, manufacturers and consumers, should make common cause with one another and strengthen the sinews of the nation. This is essential if we are to meet the many challenges that face us.

Apart from the economic questions we are confronted with several issues of immediate and vital import. Kashmir, Punjab and Assam have been witness to tragic violence. Terrorists are a small fraction of the population and yet, because of the strength of the weapons they wield they have become a force to contend with. Sophisticated and lethal weapons are used by militants to strike terror among the people. The barbaric practice of kidnapping innocent persons and holding them as hostages has become a great menace. When a private citizen or a civilian on duty is abducted, much more is involved than the loss of an individual's freedom. When innocents are shot or killed in explosions, the agony goes well beyond that of the victims. The attack is on India's spirit and soul as a free, sovereign and peace-loving democracy. The Government is determined to meet the challenge, whatever be the odds. The Government is aware that the ranks of the militants often-times include misguided youths who are exploited by anti-national forces. We would like to help such misguided persons to abandon their dangerous and mistaken paths. The Government will be happy to hold negotiations with those who eschew violence and accept the framework of the Constitution. I would appeal to all my fellow-citizens to continue to support the efforts of the Government, in this regard.

Despite the encouragement to terrorists in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir from across the borders our efforts towards normalization and improvement of relationship with the countries in our region will continue with unabated vigour. India has played and will continue to play a creative role in world affairs. The wisdom of our policy of *Panchsheel* and non-alignment has been amply borne out by the recent historic changes in the world. We will continue to strive for peace and disarmament and for global co-operation to reduce poverty and improve living standards in the developing nations.

To be able to fulfil our destiny both internally and as a responsible member of the comity of nations, we must recapture the transcontinental and transdenominational solidarity that marked our freedom struggle. Let us proceed towards the goal of a prosperous India with the sense of participation and partnership which the Hindi poet, Maithilisanan Gupta captured in the lines:

सबके हृदय में सर्वदा,
संवेदना का दाह हो,
हमको तुम्हारी चाह हो,
तुमको हमारी चाह हो।

(May there be in every heart,
A thirst for human empathy;
May a care for me on your part,
Match my care for your prosperity).

Nurturing the Spirit of Democracy

INDIA FEELS PRIVILEGED to be able to host the, thirty-seventh Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference on its soil. The Parliament of India and indeed our people are delighted that we should have this opportunity for the third time. Many of you might have attended the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences held here in 1957 and 1975. For others this would perhaps be their first visit to India. On behalf of the people, Parliament and the Government of India and on my own, I extend to all the honoured delegates, observers, and other guests from the several countries of the Commonwealth spread over almost the entire globe, a very cordial welcome.

Address at the thirty-seventh Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi,
23 September 1991

The people of India share with me the sincere hope that for each one of you the visit will be a rewarding one, and that the ensuing Conference itself will be a purposeful and memorable experience.

At the time of the 1957 Conference, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) had forty-nine branches. A little over one hundred delegates and observers attended it. In 1975, the number of branches grew to 90 and nearly 300 delegates and observers assembled here. I am glad to see that the family has since grown further and today, in 1991, the CPA has as many as 109 branches, acting as a vital link between members of the Parliaments of the Commonwealth. Based on the principle of consultation, discussion and co-operation, the Association brings Parliamentarians from different lands together to discuss, learn and benefit from each other's experience.

During its long history that goes back to some 80 years, the Association has developed what I would like to call the 'spirit of the Commonwealth' based on mutual co-operation in quest of peace and democracy, building bridges of fellowship and understanding among peoples belonging to diverse, racial, ethnic, cultural and social background, strengthening parliamentary institutions in their respective lands, ensuring the freedom and dignity of the individual, equality of man and rule of law and finally providing a government responsible to the people.

In the noble task of welding into a Commonwealth newly independent countries of the former British Empire, Prime Minister Clement Attlee and Jawaharlal Nehru played an invaluable role. Today we are proud that its membership spreads from Australia to Zimbabwe, encasing the A to Z of democratic virtues.

In all its eight decades of existence—among them many turbulent epoch-making years—the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association has remained the guardian of parliamentary democracy. The Association has forged close bonds by enabling members to interact as Parliamentarians and equals, thereby exemplifying the world-wide spirit of democratic unity. In nurturing the spirit of democracy, guarding its institutional framework and fostering fellowship, the CPA has rendered a unique service to the world community at large.

The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is a unique institution. It has not just a shared past but a common present and a prospect of future togetherness. This mutuality is not regulated by any agreements or treaties and its resolutions and decisions are not binding on anyone. It is an association of independent nations which knows they are free to express their views and opinions on matters which are brought before them by common agreement. It is left to each individual country to take advantage of the variations adopted to the parliamentary model and to absorb such of them as suit their genius. It is this characteristic of the CPA which has made it last so long and will enable it to last in the future also.

As one of the oldest members of the CPA, and a consistent champion of the spirit of freedom, democracy and peace, our country cherishes the sense

of belonging and oneness that comes from being a member of this special family. India, to those coming here for the first time may appear strange in some ways, full of mysteries and myths, a land of great complexity, contrasts, contradictions. And that would be a valid reaction, for ours is an ancient civilization and a new nation state. Here many centuries and cultures coexist, strengthening and being strengthened by one another.

India has cradled some of the most ancient republics in the world. Millennia ago, representative institutions and deliberative legislative bodies flourished here. The literature of the Vedic and Buddhist periods is replete with references to institutions like the *sabhas* and *samitis* with highly developed and sophisticated parliamentary processes and procedures which included rules for regulation of business and even provisions *inter alia* for a quorum, a presiding officer, voting by division and even something akin to the institution of a parliamentary whip!

The modern institutions of representative parliamentary democracy in India, however, owe their origin and growth directly to our British connection. During our struggle for Independence, one of the early important demands was for the establishment of parliamentary institutions and the association of Indians with it. Distinguished Indians had entered the British Parliament and we felt that it was only right that Indians should be allowed the same privilege on their soil. Successive instalments of constitutional reforms had to concede this demand and consequently, our people gained some experience of the working of franchise and of legislative institutions. When Independence came in 1947, this historic hall and its adjacent chambers reverberated with expressions of faith in the parliamentary system as the one most suited to her genius, heritage, and needs. It was realized as a point of national consensus that there was no substitute for a Parliament in a country of India's size and diversity, and that if the rule of law, the freedom of expression and representative government were to be our priorities, the primacy of parliamentary institutions would have to be affirmed.

Over ten general elections to Parliament and numerous to State Legislatures, the people of India have come to acquire something of an expertise in the process of democratic decision-making, sometimes for continuity and sometimes for change. Electoral verdicts apart, it is clear that the deciding voice is firmly and irrevocably that of the people.

Speaking of the parliamentary system at the opening of the 21st Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in 1975 in this hall, Shrimati Indira Gandhi had said:

“We opted for this system not to emulate Britain or because the framers of the Indian Constitution were unaware of other forms of democracy, but because it was best suited to the Indian reality. It was a deliberate choice and was determined by the non-violent nature of our fight, by our preference for peaceful and orderly change, and by our conviction that the people must have the deciding voice.”

But opting for the parliamentary system is one thing; running it efficaciously is another. Political resilience and the recognition of the need and desire for adjustments to changing situations are the basis of democratic functioning. And, there is no denying the fact that we are, the world over, passing through stupendous change. Parliamentary processes have come under critical review in some countries including those that have been members of the Commonwealth. Alternatives have been thought of, seriously suggested and sometimes actually experimented with. Presidential forms of government have been tried by erstwhile democracies of the Westminster type. At the same time, presidential systems have been sought to be replaced by parliamentary democracy in certain countries.

Ultimately, however, a system is only as good as the people who operate it. Also, there are many possible variants within the parliamentary system itself. There is none that can claim infallibility or universal validity. But, we do know that not only have countries that gave up the parliamentary system in favour of other models sought to return to a parliamentary polity, but even countries which for decades operated a monolithic system are now actively adopting multi-party parliamentary processes.

If worked properly and honestly, there is perhaps no better substitute for representative parliamentary democracy. With all its deficiencies, it is still superior to all other systems that human ingenuity has so far been able to devise. There is no other system which better protects the rights of the individual through the rule of law, and which enables, through the mechanism of debate and free discussion the ventilation of the grievances of the people.

In recent years, scholars and experts have devoted considerable thought to the philosophy and operational mechanics of parliamentary democracy. Parliament today is not merely a law making body. It has become more and more a multifunctional institution performing a wide variety of roles—with grievance ventilation and redressal having primacy among them. New branches of knowledge and separate academic disciplines of parliamentary political science, legislative process and legislative management studies have emerged and gradually taken shape.

Discipline and decorum are the basic foundations of parliamentary democracy. To speak and let others speak, to hear and let others hear, to propose and to let the Opposition have its say and to argue vehemently but accommodate ultimately, is the pith and substance of parliamentary process. Parliamentarians should enter the portals of Legislatures to give, not take. I am reminded of the wise words of Gibbon on the fall of the Roman Empire: “When the people of Rome wanted not to give to society, but for society to give to them, when the freedom they wished foremost was a freedom from responsibility, then it was that Rome ceased to be free.”

As products of a scientific age, we tend to believe, and not unnaturally, that the marvels of science can provide all the answers to problems that concern the future of humanity on the planet. Certainly, we would not deny that science and technology, which have equipped humankind with a tremendous range of control and mastery, are important aids to human development. And

yet, if we seriously take stock of the manner and nature of the progress made, it becomes imperative to redefine the whole purpose of development itself. We are becoming increasingly aware that our tremendous potentiality, all the remarkable achievements of our age, the stupendous range of possibilities of human experience available to us, will count for little if we are also simultaneously engaged in the annihilation, physical and moral, of our resources and values.

The world has grown smaller with contact, communication and exchange among nations. Yet it has not necessarily become more peaceful. Struggle for power and influence still dominate global affairs. While the recent treaty between the USA and the USSR to reduce strategic nuclear arsenals is a tangible contribution towards a nuclear-free world, there can be no denying that there is still immense scope worldwide for a greater reduction of expenditure on armaments. Economic disparities and ecological degradation stare us in the face. We are assailed by a sense of foreboding that we are inhabiting a chaotic universe of competing social, economic and political forces and unless appropriate measures are adopted betimes, the very preservation of the human species will be in jeopardy.

Both at the governmental and non-governmental levels, there are now some two hundred Commonwealth organisations in educational, economic, technical, professional and other fields. One of the most outstanding of these, is the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I find from your conference papers that many matters of global importance are listed for discussion in the agenda.

While there are many positive developments on the world scene, there still are many matters of continuing serious concern. Despite encouraging developments in South Africa, much remains to be done for basic political rights of the people of that country. I believe that the source of most of our troubles is in the unholy desire of man to dominate over his fellow men, to deny those basic human rights to others which he wants for himself.

I happen to be one of those Parliamentarians who attended one of the earliest Commonwealth Parliamentary Conferences—the conference held in New Zealand in 1950. During the customary tour of the host country, our group of Parliamentarians was taken to the glow-worms' cave. We were warned that the glow-worms were sensitive to noise and would not glow if there was any. So all of us held our breath and became dead silent. Imagine Parliamentarians not just from one country but from a bunch of the Commonwealth remaining quiet even for a brief second! But we did. Then we saw millions of diamonds sparking on the roof of the cave—a sight of unparalleled charm and beauty, that has lingered in my mind ever since. Later during our speeches, the Canadian delegate said he would like to borrow the glow-worms and present them to the Speaker to enable him to keep order in the House. Speaking later, I said that I would like to borrow the glow-worms for a different purpose. I said the glow-worms have a unique capacity for shedding light without heat and that was what I would like my

Parliament to learn. I am sure this is exactly what this conference would want all Parliaments to do.

I trust your deliberations will be fruitful and will foster a better understanding among the Parliamentarians from Commonwealth countries, of the problems that confront humanity as a whole. With these words, I have great pleasure in declaring the thirty-seventh Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference open.

Justice Delayed, Justice Denied

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to join this august gathering on the auspicious occasion of the post-centenary silver jubilee celebrations of this prestigious temple of justice. May I extend my cordial felicitations to the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court and to his distinguished colleagues on the Bench. May I also take this opportunity to convey my greetings to all those who are privileged to belong to the Allahabad Bar. This doubtless constitutes a proud moment for all of you and I fully share your sense of joy.

The Allahabad High Court has carved for itself a place of distinction, not just in the annals of judicial history but in Indian public life as well. While making singular contributions to our jurisprudence, it has enriched our nation's social, educational and political domains through its judges and lawyers who have given of their best to the moulding of our great nation.

No visitor to Allahabad can but recall the legends as well as the recorded history of this city situated at the sacred *Sangam*, the confluence of the three holy rivers—the Ganges, the Yamuna and the invisible Saraswati. This has been, for centuries, a home and hermitage of the sages of India. This region fascinated grand monarchs like Asoka and, centuries later, Akbar the Great. Captivated by the serenity of this hallowed land, Akbar appropriately named it Allahabad, the abode of the Almighty. A fine blend of Vedic and Islamic cultures, of tradition and resilience, of conservatism and liberal thought has taken shape here, vindicating its location of the confluence—the *Sangam*—of rivers.

After consolidating its territories around Calcutta, the East India Company, gradually spread its sway over the north-western belt of India. This area soon thereafter came to be referred to as the North-Western Frontier and was officially renamed the North-West Frontier Province, most of which is now in Pakistan. Prior to the setting up of the Allahabad High Court in 1866, the then North-Western Frontier area was under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta

High Court. But the new High Court of Allahabad took no time to equal the reputation of the parent Court. Lawyers from far and near came here to observe and profit from the performance of Allahabad's legal luminaries. Sir T.Muthusami Ayyar, the first Indian Judge and himself a great Judge, journeyed to Allahabad to meet a great Judge of this High Court, Justice Syed Mahmood.

The Allahabad High Court grew up in importance as years rolled by. Great Judges like Mahmood, Morgan, Stanley, Lindsay, Sulaiman, P.C.Banerjee and Lal Gopal Mukherjee presided over the Benches of the High Court and raised its stature to great heights. Simultaneously, lawyers with great ability and leadership like Ajudhia Nath, Sir Sunder Lal, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Purushottam Das Tandan, Dr Kailash Nath Katju and Gopal Swarup Pathak led the Bar at different points of time. Allahabad also gained national eminence through its contribution to the national struggle for freedom.

In the famous 'Chauri Chaura' case a large number of persons were accused of murder of police officers of a *thana* in Gorakhpur district. The appeal was argued in this Court by late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who succeeded in securing the acquittal of a large number of persons. In the 'Meerut Conspiracy' case also a large number of persons were indicted for professing the Communist philosophy but this Court delivered a memorable judgment upholding the concept of liberty. This Court is also known for its precedents and pronouncements in the areas of personal laws and of Constitutional issues.

True to its ancient heritage and modern accomplishments, present day Allahabad has continued to be a centre of intellectual eminence and a distinguished seat of justice and juristic thought. Today, as we celebrate the Court's 125th year, our freedom is a well established fact: mature, poised and self-assured. The rule of law is part of our system, a way of life, as is the administration of Justice, an intrinsic part of our national life. As I said in my address to mark the post-centenary silver jubilee celebrations of the Madras High Court, we borrowed the brick and mortar for our Temple of Justice from England, but its presiding deity today is our own Awakened Conscience. Our legal system today is equal to any other in the world and our lawyers rank among the eminent jurists of the world.

In the transition from serfdom to self-government the legal community of India has played a major role. Rousseau once said that feeling comes before thought. Likewise, the sense of justice has preceded law. Sensitive lawyers and jurists have known that the concept of justice is older than that of law. Justice is both the cause and effect, the origin and the legitimate end of law.

"Peace" and "security" had long been regarded as law's goals. But outstanding legal minds in the country soon realized that 'peace' and 'security' were empty concepts in a system where social, political and economic justice was denied to the people. They, therefore, decided that political freedom must be achieved as a condition precedent for ensuring justice.

Likewise, those at the helm of our renaissance saw that political justice in its widest and truest sense must encompass social and economic justice, that rule of law, equity and good conscience, must interlock with the rhythms and aspirations of the Indian people. Consequently, the Bar all over India identified itself with freedom struggle. The legal profession contributed stalwarts like Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, C.R. Das, Rajaji, Prakasam, Satyamurti—to name only a few—who used their legal training and skills to further the cause of freedom. Major movements were planned and pioneered from ‘Swaraj Bhavan’ and ‘Anand Bhavan’ in Allahabad from where Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru dedicated themselves to the service of the Indian people, initially through the medium of law. Many lawyers at Allahabad as elsewhere joined the freedom struggle at considerable sacrifice. Their names shall ever remain imprinted on the memory of future generations and their voices shall reverberate in the halls of this Court. Those personalities were, in the words of a poet:

“Grand old masters,
the bards sublime
whose distant foot-steps echo
through the corridors of time.”

The founding fathers of our Constitution lost no time in codifying the impulses that had actuated the national struggle.

Dr Rajendra Prasad in his concluding address in the Constituent Assembly on 25 November 1949 said: “If the people who are elected are capable and men of character and integrity, they would be able to make the best even of a defective Constitution. If they are lacking in these qualities the Constitution cannot help the country. India needs today nothing more than a set of honest men who will have the interest of the country before them.”

The Preamble to our Constitution declared that the people of India have given unto themselves a sovereign democratic Constitution to secure to all its citizens, among other things, social, economic and political justice and equality of opportunity.

Political justice ensures to every citizen the right to participate in the governance of the country without discrimination, let or hindrance. Articles 14, 15 and 16 of the Constitution which guarantee equality before law and equal protection of law, non-discrimination in employment and equality of opportunity to every person are part and parcel of the concept of political justice enshrined in our Preamble to the Constitution. Any attempt to deny the citizen of his right to free choice of his representatives by the nefarious practices of intimidation, violence, booth capturing or other is a violation of the constitutional guarantees and a crime against the fellow citizen. It has, thus, become the sacred duty of the Bench and the Bar to ensure that this assurance of political justice is not eroded.

Social justice comprises a number of concepts like abolition of untouchability, promotion of the welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and

other weaker sections of society, education, health, protection of the environment, free legal aid, etc. While some of the above rights are enforceable and some only directive principles, they constitute the “conscience” of our Constitution. Together they form the core of the Constitution. The judiciary and the Bar, therefore, become the custodians of these basic principles and they will have to safeguard them.

Conflict between individual rights and the social good is unavoidable. A society which does not render the greatest good for the largest number may either decay or go in for revolution. The machinery of law has to effect social changes in order to achieve the greatest good for the largest number of people. All this has brought in its wake altogether new types of litigation. Our people are sensitive to their rights guaranteed by the Constitution and seek the aid and intervention of the Court whenever their rights are threatened or infringed. No wonder litigation has swelled beyond all calculations.

Laws enacted for the purpose of securing to the citizen Justice, Liberty, and Equality are called in question in courts, by the parties whose individual interests are affected. The responsibility of courts has, thus, increased both in volume and measure. Unless courts inspire confidence in the common man that his aspirations are fulfilled, he will lose faith in the system.

Dr S. Radhakrishnan, our sagacious former President in his address at your centenary celebrations said:

“If people lose respect for law and respect for the courts which administer law, it will be a bad day for us. It is essential for the country to respect law, for the Government of the country to respect law and for the courts to maintain the sanctity and purity of legal administration and dispensation of justice. That is absolutely necessary, if the rule of law has to be continued in this country as it has to be continued.”

Myriad problems confront us. As a Socialist Democratic Republic, the State is called upon to endeavour to raise the standard of living of the masses, reduce the disparity between classes and ensure equality of opportunity to all groups, especially the weaker sections like women, Scheduled Castes and Tribes. There is too little available and too many to share the available goods and services in the country. The process of ensuring an equitable distribution among the people has flooded the courts with cases. The resultant delay in their disposal poses a daunting challenge. Justice is neither perceived as being readily available nor meted out expeditiously. The congestion in courts, mounting arrears and dilatoriness which characterize the routine trials in our courts are well-known facts of contemporary life.

Law's delays are causing grave concern to the people. This is reflected in the number of interpellations put in Parliament regarding the arrears in courts. This has also led to a search for alternative procedures for quicker disposal of cases. There is no gainsaying that with the enactment of a large number of laws and of the enforceable fundamental rights, the volume of work in courts has increased enormously. People have become more and

more aware of their rights and are no longer willing to submit to arbitrariness anywhere.

The resort to writ jurisdiction has overburdened the entire judiciary. Oftentimes, the established hierarchy for redress of grievances is bypassed and approach to the highest courts is resorted to under Articles 32, 226 and 227 of the Constitution. The recourse to Article 226 for the issue of writs not only for the enforcement of fundamental rights, but also for “any other purpose” has really opened the floodgates of litigation.

I am not suggesting any curtailment of this power; but it is worth considering whether it would not ease the burden of the highest courts if they are slow or selective in entertaining cases for which administrative or other remedies are available. The tendency to clutch at jurisdiction and expand the scope of judicial review has to be resisted by the judiciary itself. The United Nations Administrative Tribunal, of which I was the President for over a decade, observed a salutary rule that in administrative matters it will not substitute its judgment for that of the executive but would interfere only in cases where the decision of the executive was vitiated by prejudice, extraneous considerations or fundamental errors of procedure.

It is also a matter for consideration by the Bar whether efforts should not be made to reduce the length of hearings consistent with the needs of each case. I would particularly urge lawyers to present their cases concisely. Oral presentations before the highest courts have been limited to a few hours in other countries. We may not go to that extent but we must realize that prolixity does not add to wisdom. I am making these suggestions, so that more drastic changes in procedure may not be contemplated. The legacy of British legal system has stood the test of time and any violent changes in them may cause harm to the administration of justice. We should not throw away the baby with the bath-water.

Justice Hidayatullah in one of his lectures quoted the eminent American jurist, Dean Roscoe Pound who detailed the causes for dissatisfaction with the administration of justice. The learned Dean said *inter alia*:

“Our legal administration is archaic”;

“Our procedure is behind all times”;

“Our laws are crude”.

These observations appear to be universal and eternal, applicable to all countries and for all time. One of the reasons for delay between filing of claims and their final redressal arises from multiplicity of appeals in a hierarchy of courts. Litigants’ tendency to gamble should not be encouraged by providing the fora. There is no litigant who would not have appealed from the Supreme Court to Heaven itself, if there was a way of doing it. Nor do a large number of appellate courts ensure justice. Requirements of natural justice envisage that no one single person’s decision should be final however wise or eminent that person may be; but not a succession of appeals.

Today much of the litigation arises from poor drafting of laws. Since social legislation has to cover new areas for which there are no precedents, a

measure of imprecision has crept into the laws. Lack of adequate examination of the bills or examination by Select Committees of Legislatures has necessitated greater judicial scrutiny. Parliamentary procedures provide for circulating Bills of national importance for eliciting public opinion. This would enable jurists and public workers to contribute to the framing of laws free from ambiguity and also reduce conflicting interpretations by a hierarchy of courts.

It is time that the Bench and the Bar put their heads together to find a solution to laws' delays. The institution of *Lok Adalats* which has done a commendable job in recent times may be further strengthened and more widely resorted to for speedy justice. Pre-trial compromises will shorten and reduce litigation and the judiciary may help in effecting them. I am afraid merely enlarging the strength of courts without making some structural changes in the current procedures and practices, will not help in reducing the mounting arrears in courts.

The Allahabad High Court has discharged its responsibilities in the last 125 years with distinction. The judges have displayed great wisdom, stout independence and strict impartiality in performing their duties. The Allahabad Bar has also maintained its high reputation for legal acumen and professional standards.

The Bench and the Bar have co-operated in achieving socio-economic reforms and upholding social justice. In a free society like ours, the judiciary plays a crucial balancing role. Society for its even temper depends upon an independent judiciary, a sagacious Bar and an enlightened public opinion.

This Court has the proud distinction of having contributed as many as four Chief Justices of India—Mr Justice K.N.Wanchoo, Mr Justice M.H.Beg, Mr Justice R.S.Pathak and the present Chief Justice Mr Justice K.N.Singh.

The tasks of our national renaissance are as yet incomplete. We are yet to reach our goals of social justice. In this, judges and lawyers bear a heavy responsibility. The traditions of this High Court and this city will, I am sure, inspire all of us to redouble our efforts in that direction.

Courts are regarded as temples of justice. Their sanctity must be maintained by honesty, sincerity, devotion to duty and absolute impartiality and independence. I am sure the Allahabad High Court will serve as a shining example to the rest of the country.

With these words, I have great pleasure in once again extending my felicitations to the Allahabad High Court on its 125th anniversary and in wishing it continued success.

Challenges Before the Country

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in welcoming all of you to this conference. Each of you brings to bear on the high office that you hold, a wealth of experience and distinction in public service. I am sure that your collective wisdom will be of immense help in meeting the challenges before the country.

I would like to offer a special word of welcome to our Prime Minister, Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao and those of his colleagues in the new Council of Ministers who are present in this conference. Shri Narasimha Rao is a scholar statesman with a long and distinguished record of service to the nation in diverse fields. He has assumed office at a juncture when our country is passing through critical times in the political and economic spheres. On behalf of Upa Rashtrapatiji and all of you, I extend to him our best wishes for the unqualified success of his gallant efforts to bring peace and prosperity to the country and the people.

Since we met last, some Governors and Lt. Governors have demitted their office. I would like to place on record my appreciation of the services rendered by them in their respective states. To the Governors and Lt. Governors who are attending the Conference of Governors for the first time, I extend a cordial welcome. During the year and a half since the last Governors' Conference, the country has witnessed some quick changes in our political set-up. The Government formed in December 1989 by Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh, lost its majority on the floor of the Lok Sabha before it completed its first year in office. Its successor Government led by Shri Chandra Shekhar had an even shorter spell in office. This resulted in the unavoidable dissolution of the Lok Sabha and mid-term elections in June 1991. Midway through the polls came the tragic assassination of our former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, which anguished the whole nation across all political hues and divides. In his passing away the nation and the world lost an eminent and dynamic leader.

The new Government led by Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has assumed office against this background. Its conscious attempt to come to grips with the major problems facing the country and his method of consultations and conciliation, holds out promises of a healing touch to our nation's deep pains.

Our land mass is so large and variegated that some part of it or the other is always the scene of nature's fury. The severe earthquake with its epicentre in Uttarkashi caused heavy loss of life and property, particularly in the Tehri-Garhwal region and shook large parts of Northern India. We share the agony of the victims of this natural disaster. There is need to ensure that steps are quickly and effectively taken to protect the immediate victims of the earthquake against the rigours of a Himalayan winter. I am sure Shri Satyanarayana Reddy will enlighten us on the steps taken in this regard.

Man-made travails are more difficult to contend with. All of us have, for quite some time now, been agonized by the unabated fury of terrorism. The bullet flies across several parts of our country, bombs explode amongst unsuspecting innocent, traumatizing our peaceable society. To the despicable vocabulary of terrorism has been added the cult of taking hostages, most of them public servants on duty. This represents a barbaric as well as cowardly mentality, since it plays havoc with the lives and psychologies of defenceless souls. Punjab, the valley of Kashmir, Assam, several parts of North-East and pockets of South and Central India have witnessed cold, calculated and dastardly attacks by terrorists.

It is a matter of relief that after the deployment of the army in Punjab there has been a marked decline in terrorist violence. The rising phenomenon of the killing of members of the families of security personnel with the intention of demoralizing the security apparatus is causing us grave concern. I would like to take this opportunity to place on record my appreciation of the grit and fortitude displayed by the security agencies working in that State. As you are all aware, the Government has announced its determination to hold elections in Punjab before 15 February 1992. It is our trust that security forces will be in a position to render the atmosphere conducive to the holding of free and fair elections in Punjab. I would also like to mention that the pressure on terrorists in Punjab has, however, been followed up by terrorist violence spilling over into neighbouring states such as Uttar Pradesh and Haryana. The situation in these states would need a close watch.

It is a matter for deep regret that the militants activities in Kashmir is maintained and fuelled by the supply of arms, ammunitions and training from across the border.

Our North-East has for a long time now been harassed by extremist violence. Operation Rhino launched by our Army in Assam has been successful in containing ULFA violence to a great extent. It is a matter of satisfaction that during the last few days, ULFA has freed hostages and announced a unilateral cease-fire. Other States in the North-East also, particularly Nagaland and Manipur continue to be riven by terrorist violence. We hope that these extremist organisations will see the error of their ways and accept constitutional and democratic processes for the ventilation of their grievances and the fulfilment of their hopes. I look forward to hearing the views of the Home Minister and the Governors concerned on these issues.

Left wing extremists have been causing anxiety in parts of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra as also in Bihar and Orissa. It has become necessary to adopt an integrated regional strategy to meet this form of extremist violence. Unless co-ordinated measures are taken by the concerned States, a solution may elude us. I am aware that Shri Subramaniam, the Governor of Maharashtra, has devoted some thought to this problem and I hope he will enlighten us with his ideas.

Communalism has been an old malady with us. It is a slur on our ancient culture and heritage that we have been unable to prevent the recurrence of communal riots in different parts of the country. In July this year riots rocked

Gujarat, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh during Muharram processions resulting in fatalities. Ganesh Chaturthi immersions coinciding with Milad-un-Nabi adversely affected communal harmony in different parts of the country, while the city of Cuttack was witness to communal frenzy during Dussera festivities. More recently the riot at Varanasi during the observance of Kali Puja has caused us grief and concern.

Caste based clashes continue to mar our national image. Tsundur in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh is one of the more recent venues of caste clashes which have caused bloodshed and misery to the people of that area.

Certain organisations invariably tend to exploit caste, community and language for their own purposes of personal and political aggrandisement. I would like the Governors to suggest ways and means of ensuring that this spurt of communal frenzy does not happen.

In recent days we have all been distressed by the disturbances and violence consequent to the Cauvery water dispute. Water is a scarce resource which has to be shared by the riparian states in an equitable manner. There is a well established mechanism to deal with inter-State river water disputes. We must on no count permit inter-State water disputes to acquire the proportions that they have. I invite Governors to offer suggestions for an amicable settlement of such sensitive issues as inter-State border and river water disputes.

This brings me to the shape and structure of our democratic edifice in the States. We have not failed to notice that in certain States, ministries have come to acquire enormous size. There are instances where almost every legislator of the ruling party has had to be placated by a ministership or a ministerial type of sinecure. Our body politic cannot carry so much adiposity without detriment to the heart of democratic functioning. The absence of a limit to the size of the ministry encourages hopes of office in a defector. It is well worth considering whether the size of the ministry should not be limited to one tenth of the size of popularly elected legislature. Apart from discouraging defections, this will lead to an enormous saving in public expenditure and help channel resources to the welfare of the people.

It appears to me that the lure of office is the foremost infirmity in a politician and defections are its basest manifestation. It is for the consideration of the Government, politicians and the public whether a defector should not be debarred from any public office, elective or otherwise for the duration of the Legislature to which he had been returned by the electorate.

Another related matter that has caused controversy and, therefore, concern pertains to the interpretation of the anti-defection law. Unfortunate and, in my view, avoidable instances of discord have arisen between the Legislature and the Judiciary over this matter. In matters pertaining to the anti-defection law judicial directives are sometimes issued to the Governor, placing that office in a situation of delicacy. I would like to suggest that the Prime Minister and the Government give thought to insulating the office of the Governor from such piquant situations.

Among the many far-reaching developments of recent times, are the series of new initiatives taken by this Government in the realm of economic

reforms. We have started a process of moving away from a regime of controls towards a more flexible market based economy. Our distinguished Finance Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh will doubtless apprise this conference of the recent initiatives in economic policy and their implications for the future. It is a matter of gratification that the adverse balance of payments position has somewhat eased following the recent measures taken in that area. The price situation, especially in respect of essential commodities, continues to demand attention. The level of foodgrain stocks in the central pool is comfortable but I would like to urge the Governors to advise State Governments to remain vigilant and administer the Essential Commodities Act firmly.

The burden on the poor and vulnerable sections of society continues to be great. Let us not take their patience for granted. It is customary for the Governors' Conference to include the subject of welfare in the agenda and this conference is no exception. Without anticipating our discussions I would like to suggest to the Governors that they take a special interest in the exclusive schemes for our Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Our Constitution envisages a special role for the Governors with regard to the administration of Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas. The Governors must ensure that meetings of the Tribal Advisory Councils take place regularly and that the annual reports of the Governors concerned are submitted in time.

All our efforts for economic development and poverty alleviation flounder on the rock of over population. Our performance on the economic front, particularly in agriculture, industry and science and technology has been very impressive but the immense growth in our GDP has been nullified by the population explosion during the last 40 years. I am afraid the country cannot maintain the present and growing population in any degree of reasonable comfort. May I call upon the Governors and the Lt. Governors to use their good offices to see that the action plans drawn up by the Department of Family Welfare at the Centre are implemented effectively in their States.

Friends, all of you are aware of the far-reaching changes that are taking place in the world. The bipolar juxtaposition with which we had lived ever since World War II has suddenly thawed and we find international equations in a slurry of rapid change. The formation of the Commonwealth of some of the Soviet Union's former constituents and the resignation of President Gorbachev, German unification, the transformation of East European countries into democratic polities and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact have changed the political landscape of Europe and the world.

In this situation of change, India is called upon to redefine its points of reference, and equations. Our fundamental commitments to the principles of non-alignment and to the concept of *Panchsheel* will always be of relevance. Their creative application in today's context, however, needs to be more clearly spelt out.

But we cannot assume that the world is moving towards a new spirit of co-operation and understanding. The Gulf war has shown that even in a non-biopolar world, conflagrations can occur. We look forward to hearing

from the Prime Minister and the Minister for External Affairs at tomorrow's session an insightful account of the present international situation.

I would, however, like to make a reference to two recent visits which have occasioned much happiness and optimism. I refer to the visit of the Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr G.P. Koirala and of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr Li Peng. Being the first such visit by a Chinese Prime Minister after 31 years, it held special significance. I hope the encouraging dialogue started between the Prime Ministers of India and China, will lead to the solution of the differences between the two countries and usher in an era of understanding and co-operation, not only for the mutual benefit of both our countries but for Asia and world peace.

During the period since the last Governors' Conference I had the privilege of receiving the South African statesman, Dr Nelson Mandela. The conferment of Bharat Ratna on him underlined our support to his struggle for freedom and the democratic rights of his people. Other dignitaries who visited our country included the Presidents of Afghanistan, Germany, the Maldives and Zimbabwe and the King of Bhutan.

My two visits to Japan on the occasion of the funeral of Emperor Hirohito and of the installation of Emperor Akihito afforded an opportunity for strengthening our bilateral ties and for holding important talks with world leaders. Later, I visited the friendly country—Vietnam. This was the first visit by a Head of State from India after the unification of Vietnam. I held official discussions with the Vietnamese President, Vo Chi Cong and other leaders. All these leaders expressed appreciation of India's success in attaining food self-sufficiency, industrial diversification and self-reliance and impressive progress in science and technology. They also gratefully acknowledged the assistance India has rendered from time to time, the credits they have extended and the training facilities offered to Vietnamese people.

I also visited the Philippines, where President Corazon Aquino, accorded a very warm welcome. This was the first visit by a President of India to the Philippines. President Aquino expressed a keen desire for economic co-operation between India and the Philippines, more particularly in agriculture, in small industries and in sharing technology. Later, their Minister for Agriculture visited our Agricultural Research Institutions.

Keeping in view the foreign exchange crisis, I cancelled projected goodwill visits by me to Chile, Turkey and Italy.

I would like to take this opportunity to stress that we are in a situation where unproductive expenditure must be avoided scrupulously. I warmly welcome the package of economy and austerity measures announced by the Prime Minister at the conclusion of the National Development Council meeting, earlier this week. Government activity and public expenditure can never come to a stop but we must learn to draw a distinction between avoidable and unavoidable expenditure. I am sure that this initiative will evoke an appropriate response from all quarters.

In previous conferences we had emphasized this need for circumspection in Government expenditure. I am happy to note that many Governors have

undertaken an exercise to effect economies in their Raj Bhavan establishments. The drive for economy is not a one-time measure but a constant and continuous one.

Certain provisions of the Governors' Allowances and Privileges Act and the Rules have been engaging the attention of the Governors. Under these provisions, Governors' establishments could in certain circumstances be discussed in Parliament which I felt was not consistent with the dignity of the office. At the last Conference of Governors, I constituted a Committee consisting of the Governor of West Bengal as Convenor and the Governors of Maharashtra, Assam, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh as members, to go into this and to give me their recommendations. This Committee gave its report to me in July this year. I would like to thank and express my appreciation to Prof. Nurul Hasan, and his colleagues in the Committee for the useful report. I have forwarded the report to the Home Minister for his examination.

It is widely and erroneously believed that the office of Governor is but an ornamental institution, distanced from the hopes, trials and tribulations of the people of the State. Governors, in my view, are not the decorative roofing on a State's body politic. They are, rather, like the roots—running deep, providing stability and strength but doing so invisibly.

We have a heavy agenda before us and I look forward to obtaining the Governors' valuable views on the Conference themes. I have already conveyed my view that it may not be necessary for the Governors and the Lt. Governors to read out their prepared speeches. These will form part of the proceedings. The Governors may like to confine their remarks to important points so as to allow more time for discussions.

I now invite the Governors to offer their views and comments on all the items of the agenda before us.

Together We Build a New India

ON THE EVE of our forty-third Republic Day, I have great pleasure in conveying to all fellow citizens, living in India and abroad, my cordial felicitations and greetings.

This is a cherished anniversary for us. It was on this day in 1950 that our country was welded into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and the people acquired fundamental rights to liberty, equality and fraternity. We remember today the sagacious Dr Rajendra Prasad, our first President of the Republic, our beloved first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru—the architect of modern India—and the indomitable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who brought the

diverse princely authorities under the unified control of the new Republic. The national tricolour, which had inspired us during the struggle for freedom went up on that historic day with a flutter of confidence and expectation. Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan in an address to the Constituent Assembly on the day the Flag was officially adopted said:

“The Flag tells us: Be ever alert, be ever on the move, go forward; work for a free, flexible, compassionate, decent, democratic society in which Christians, Sikhs, Moslems, Hindus, Buddhists will all find a safe shelter.”

Every word of that passage from our philosopher-statesman is vital for the Republic: flexibility, compassion, decency; tolerance of other views and restraint in the expression of one's own; patience in the face of provocation; empathy for fellow human beings in distress. These are the hallmarks of civilized behaviour. Democracy cannot be sustained except on the solid foundation of civilized behaviour.

The framers of the Constitution knew that if our freedom and our democracy were to ring true, our society must exhibit a readiness to tolerate and assimilate diversities of outlook.

Adult franchise and universal suffrage also ensured that the diverse facets of national opinion would articulate themselves at the hustings, with ease and effectiveness. The institution of parliamentary democracy with several parties presenting their programmes of action through election manifestos afforded citizens a freedom in the choice of party and government. The kaleidoscope of public opinion has been turned ten times by us in as many general elections. Parties have been returned to power overwhelmingly, rejected equally decisively. With each election, the nation has matured and marched forward in the path of democracy.

Long before the Constitution was framed Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the Second Round Table Conference, said:

“I shall work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class or low class of people; and an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women shall enjoy the same rights as men....”

Various Articles of the Constitution have declared discrimination by the State as between citizen and citizen on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, illegal. By throwing open all public places to all citizens, by abolishing untouchability, by offering equality of opportunity in matters relating to employment and by guaranteeing equality before the law and equal protection of the laws, it has secured for all of us the principles of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity as envisaged in the Preamble to the Constitution.

Furthermore, the system of parliamentary democracy has ensured that the State shall be accountable to the people for every one of its actions. Through interpellations, motions and debates, the executive is called upon to convince the people that their measures subserve national interests and the welfare of

the people. Unless the institution of Parliament is appropriately utilized, it will not fulfil the role for which it has been created.

If Mother India has been served well by the institutions of parliamentary democracy, it has also been benefited by the instrument of planned economic development.

Over the last four decades and more, our farmers who constituted 70 per cent of the electorate have also demonstrated amazing skill in adopting new farm-practices. As a result, our granaries are full. Our industrial infrastructure has, simultaneously, acquired sinews strong enough to place us in the frontline among manufacturers of basic industrial goods. Indian industry has shown an extraordinary capacity to produce goods of great variety and sophistication. We have achieved modest success in not only meeting the internal demand but external markets as well.

India's journey along the road of scientific and technological advance proceeds apace, with marked achievements in the realms of telecommunications, biotechnology, oceanography and space research. Our programme for the peaceful uses of atomic energy continues to give us satisfying results.

Our impressive gains in GDP would normally have given us a much higher standard of life had it not been neutralized by the stupendous growth in our population. It is becoming increasingly difficult to provide our present and ever-expanding population with a reasonable standard of living. Recent initiatives taken to spread literacy among our adult population, especially our women, have come not a day too soon. But much more needs to be done in this direction. It is time a strategy was devised to reach India's rural women, with a simple and efficacious programme in order to save them the burden of an unmanageable family.

If our efforts at economic development and poverty alleviation have had to reckon with the rock of overpopulation, our efforts at creating a national ethos meet with challenges of a deeper kind. I refer to the impediments being placed on our path by three negative forces which are unremittingly at work. These are the cult of terrorism, the virus of communal hatred and an invisible but most corrosive phenomenon: a pervasive slackening in national discipline.

Bullets and bombs have no place in a democracy where avenues for constitutional redressal exist. And yet, public servants on duty, political figures, journalists, and innocent men, women and children have been—and are being—killed and taken hostage in many parts of the country on almost a daily basis. Punjab, the valley of Kashmir, Assam, several parts of the North-East and certain areas in South and Central India have been witness to cold, calculated and bizarre acts of terrorism. Our security forces and our Army, wherever deployed, have shown tremendous grit and patience. I would like to take this opportunity to compliment them on their courage and valour.

But it is necessary now to go beyond weeding out terrorism's toxic plants. We must ensure that the causes and conditions which breed terrorism are eliminated. This would call for a more vigorous implementation of land

reforms, of wastelands development, of reduction of disparities and provision of adequate employment opportunities for our youth.

We must not assume that the cash nexus is sufficient to fulfil human aspirations. Cultural and regional identities need to be assured and reassured that they are safe in a democratic polity such as ours. We must simultaneously offer the constitutional and democratic path for the ventilation of grievances and for the realization of local aspirations.

The new Government's initiatives to bring a healing touch to some of the nation's deep pains are, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction. Consultation, conciliation and concord are time-tested remedies.

It is a matter of shame and sorrow that we have not been able to prevent communal and caste violence in different parts of the country. Innocent religious processions or festivals end up in a violent eruption. Very often, the cause for the clash is absurdly trivial and yet it leaves a trail of death and destruction in which, more often than not, women and children are the most unfortunate sufferers. All restraint, all civility, seems to evaporate when frenzy overtakes even sensible men. Such instances of violence are a blot on our cultural heritage and our national image as a non-violent and peaceful people.

This brings me to the third negative factor I mentioned, namely, increasing indiscipline and the palpable erosion of faith in the rule of law. Individuals, political organizations, professional groups, trade unions take all too quickly to the path of agitation and obstruction. The result is a breakdown in public order. One of the most distinguished framers of our Constitution, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar said as long back as 1947:

"The recent happenings in different parts of the country have convinced me more than ever, that all the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution must be subject to public order, security and safety...."

The exercise of one's rights is always subject to non-infringement of the rights of others. There is a story, that an Englishman walked along swinging his walking stick and it struck the nose of another person. When the injured person objected, the wielder of the stick said that England had ensured freedom to all people and that in swinging his stick he was only exercising his right. The objector then replied "Sir, your freedom ends where my nose begins."

It is a truism that while in a dictatorship, laws are enforced, in a democracy, laws are voluntarily observed. The rule of law in a democracy must be maintained by inner restraints, by self-discipline. But maintained, it must be. Without discipline, democracy loses its meaning. Gandhiji had once said that Swaraj means two things—self-rule and self-restraint. We in India have the former, namely, self-rule. We also have, in a large measure, self-reliance as well. But of self-restraint we seem to be in short supply.

The history of civilization is the history of human endeavour to replace a chaotic society by an orderly one where people live in peace and harmony, avoid conflicts and settle differences by discussions or by judicial processes. Early man settled differences by force but the civilized man resorted to

peaceful measures for resolving differences. Unless the country accepts this basic principle, there can be no peace, harmony or progress. Principles of natural justice do provide for correction of errors of the machinery for settlement of differences and should be resorted to in case of need. The tendency to take unwelcome conclusions to the streets spells disaster to the future of the nation.

The nation is undergoing acute economic and financial crises and it is the duty of every citizen to contribute his mite for the recovery and rehabilitation of the economy. There is urgent need to maximize production and ensure its equitable distribution so that the weaker sections are not left to fend for themselves. Nothing that militates against fullest utilization of all existing capacities in agriculture, industry, trade, commerce, communications and banking should be tolerated or encouraged. If we are to emerge from the crisis, a moratorium should be declared voluntarily at the national level for at least two years on all *bandhs*, strikes and lock-outs or any other activity such as 'go-slow' and 'work-to-rule' which impedes economic development. This is a duty which we owe to our own children and progeny.

Friends, the bipolar division of the world is now virtually a thing of the past; the cold war has ended. International relations are moving towards a redefinition, with old juxtapositions becoming obsolete. India's role in a world that is no longer bipolar will continue to be important. We cannot assume that the new emerging world order will be free of strains. Conflagrations can occur even in the changed scenario and the exploitation of weak nations can acquire new forms. The principles underlying our policy of non-alignment and *Panchsheel* will, therefore, continue to be relevant to the world.

The recent visits to India by the Prime Ministers of Nepal and China gave us an opportunity to continue our dialogue with these two ancient neighbours. It is our hope that a solution to the differences between India and China will be found soon. It is equally our desire to normalize relations with Pakistan. But the active encouragement and assistance rendered to militants in Punjab and in Kashmir from across the border, stands in the way of normalization. India wants and will work for peace; but India will not compromise on its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

I have great pleasure in once again offering Republic Day greetings to the sons and daughters of India; to our *kisans* and *mazdoors*; to our village artisans; to our entrepreneurs; scientists and technologists; to our administrators; creative artistes; professionals; teachers and students. It gives me special pleasure, as Supreme Commander, to extend my greetings to all our Defence Forces and commend their valour in guarding our borders under extreme conditions.

More than 2000 years ago, the Tamil Saint Tiruvalluvar said:

*"Pal Kulvuvum Paaiz Seyyum Utpagayum Veendalaikkum
Kolkurumbum Illada Nadu."*

(That is a great nation which is not divided into warring sects, which is free

from murderous anarchists and which has no traitors within its bosom to ruin it).

Let us build that India, through discipline in thought, word and deed, through unity among all classes of people and through selfless service to the nation.

A Bold and Innovative Approach

I WELCOME YOU to this first session of Parliament in 1992 and wish you the very best for the successful completion of the budgetary and legislative business ahead. I extend a special welcome to the new members from Punjab.

The Government had given an assurance that elections would be held in Punjab in February 1992. Despite many serious problems, this assurance has been fulfilled. Members are aware that the State of Punjab has been facing terrorist violence for the past decade and many innocent lives have been lost. The brave people of Punjab deserve to be congratulated for the courage they have displayed in reaffirming their faith in the democratic process and in the abiding values of secularism and nationhood. The Government is committed to finding a just and amicable solution to all the outstanding issues in Punjab. The Rajiv-Longowal Accord was a step in this direction. The presence of elected representatives will strengthen a meaningful dialogue and the participation in the process of all sections in the State.

The involvement of forces across the border in aiding, arming and providing logistic support to the terrorists in Kashmir is now well-known. Pakistan has continued its massive propaganda and disinformation campaign to defame India and to divert world attention from its overt and covert support to terrorism. Terrorist action has taken a heavy toll of innocent lives. For over two years the normal life of the people in the State has been dislocated. A section of the population has been forced to flee the State and take shelter outside. No doubt, all efforts are being made to take care of the needs of those who have migrated, but the solution to the problem lies in their return to their own homes where they can be resettled safely.

The Government has launched a massive operation against the terrorists with the help of the Army. All-out efforts have been made to stop border infiltration. The recent efforts by terrorists to make massive intrusions across the Line of Control created a serious threat to peace in that area. Action, though belated, on the ground by Pakistan and diplomatic moves by the Government succeeded in meeting this grave threat. Some groups of

terrorists have surrendered along with their arms. Discussions have been held in different fora to activate a meaningful interaction with the people. The Government is, at the same time, continuing its efforts at increasing the pace of economic development in the State and expanding employment opportunities. An Advisory Council has also been set up at the State level. The Government would be willing to consider any dialogue within the framework of the Constitution to restore normalcy.

In the eastern part of the country, the Army had to be deployed in Assam from September 1991 to restore peace and normalcy. The security forces have apprehended a number of ULFA activists and seized their weapons. Some activists have also surrendered voluntarily. ULFA has released all hostages and has unilaterally declared the suspension of its agitation. ULFA has shown willingness to hold negotiations with the Government to find an amicable solution to the problems of Assam within the framework of the Constitution. The army operations in Assam have been suspended, pending a dialogue with the ULFA.

A close watch is being kept on the situation arising out of the Ram Janma bhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute. The Government has enacted legislation to maintain the *status quo* of the other places of worship as they existed on 15 August 1947. Action has been completed to set up a Foundation for Communal Harmony to take care of children of families affected by communal violence. One of the commitments of the Government was to establish a composite Rapid Action Force to quell communal riots. All necessary decisions in this regard have been taken. The Force has been raised.

It would be recalled that in the last session, Parliament has met a long-standing demand of the people by enacting legislation to give the Union Territory of Delhi a Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers. The Government has initiated steps for delimiting constituencies to hold early elections.

In my last address, I had spoken of the need to take hard decisions to overcome the grim economic situation confronting the country. The Government has moved swiftly to deal with the crisis. The balance of payments problem has been successfully handled. Our reserves of foreign exchange today stand at over Rs. 10,000 crore. We have redeemed the gold we had pledged, and arrested the outflow of capital. International confidence is being restored. At the same time, the Government has initiated steps to restructure the economy for greater productivity and growth. Changes have been made in industrial, fiscal and trade policies. This process of change will continue and will have to be extended to other important sectors of the economy.

The new industrial policy aims at consolidating the gains of the past decade, and imparting a fresh impetus to Indian industry for enhancing its efficiency and productivity. The policy has already shown significant results. In the period after the policy changes were announced the number of investment proposals has doubled compared to the same period last year. Approvals for

foreign investment and technical collaboration also show a similar trend. Along with changes in the industrial policy, a policy package for support to small-scale industry has been announced. The small-scale and tiny sector will continue to play an important role in providing employment and contributing to industrial output. With the changes that have been brought about in the industrial policy, the State Governments have a major role to play in promoting industrial development. The Central Government will continue to interact with them to ensure that the benefits of the liberalized policy reach all corners of the country.

We place great emphasis on exports. Despite an unavoidable import compression of about 20 per cent, exports to General Currency Area countries have shown a modest growth of six per cent in dollar terms. External obstacles on exports to Rupee Payment Area have, however, affected overall export growth. Efforts are being made to restore trade with the Republics of the former Soviet Union, and framework agreements are being entered into with all of them.

The Government is fully conscious of the need to protect the interest of all those workers who may be affected by restructuring as contemplated by the new policies. A programme of retraining and redeployment will be taken up, for which necessary funds will be provided. The strength of India lies in its working class. A standing Tripartite Committee has been constituted to examine the impact of the new industrial policy on labour and make recommendations from time to time on labour related problems. The National Commission on Rural Labour submitted its report last July and made a number of recommendations for improving the position of rural workers through creation of employment opportunities, provision of social security, strengthening existing laws and enactment of new legislation. The Government is studying these recommendations.

The rise in prices is a matter of grave concern. Inflation is being caused, to a large extent by the fiscal deficit. Once the fiscal deficit is reduced and brought under control inflation can be expected to come down to reasonable levels. Other possible administrative steps like dehoarding measures and increase in release of foodgrains have been taken. The inflation rate has come down from over 16 per cent in August 1991 to about 12 per cent at present. The Government will continue to monitor prices and take steps to reduce these further.

The economic policy changes initiated recently will form the basis for the VIII Plan which envisages a growth rate of 5.6 per cent. This growth target is to be achieved by a proposed total outlay of Rs. 400,000 crore. The foremost objective of the Plan will be to generate increased employment. Other priorities of the Plan are eradication of illiteracy, universalization of elementary education and providing drinking water and primary health facilities. The emphasis will be on people's involvement and in reaching out to the poorest and the most needy sections of our people. The VIII Plan will also focus on strengthening infrastructure. The Policy approach for the VIII Plan has already been endorsed by the States at the recent meeting of the National

Development Council and the Government is confident that the economy will soon be on a sustainable and stable course of development.

Growth rates have been encouraging in several critical infrastructure areas like electricity, coal, steel and cement. The Government is committed to further strengthening infrastructure. Every effort will be made to step up power supply and make it more stable. The development of atomic energy and non-conventional energy sources will receive high priority. The importance of effective communication systems for the country's development cannot be overstated. These will be strengthened. Every effort will be made to increase the capacity and transport capability of the railway network. A new shipping policy is being initiated. A major restructuring of Indian Airlines and Air India is envisaged which will include modernization of the fleet and support facilities. The network of telecommunication services, particularly in the rural areas will be substantially extended.

The progress made by the country in the field of science and technology is a matter of pride. To cite only a few, the indigenous fabrication of the second generation INSAT-2 series of satellites is proceeding according to schedule. INSAT-2A is expected to be launched next month. With the planned launching of Satellite Launch Vehicles, in the next one year, India will join the ranks of those few countries which have their own launch capability. The limitless potential of biotechnology which is of direct relevance to areas as diverse as agriculture, pisciculture and health will be exploited to the full. The exciting possibilities of electronics will be followed up so that it brings tangible benefits to our people. The development of the new contraceptive pill is yet another example of the benefits to be reaped through scientific advance. Even while reaching out to frontier areas, scientific and technological research must, in the final analysis, be closely linked to improving the quality of life of our masses.

While doing everything possible to accelerate the pace of progress, there must be environmental accountability all round—on the part of Government, industry and people. A scheme of financial incentives and disincentives would supplement the normal regulatory measures to achieve this purpose. It is proposed to take up during the VIII Five Year Plan, a scheme of associating tribals and rural poor in afforestation of degraded forests on a usufruct-sharing basis. The Wastelands Development Programme launched in 1985 will be strengthened and it is proposed to take up the integrated development of micro-watersheds in 50 districts in the country. With the experience gained in the cleaning of the Ganga, the Government proposes to take up the cleaning of the major tributaries of this river and the grossly polluted stretches of other major rivers under the National River Action Plan. India looks forward to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and will work towards ensuring that the Conference safeguards the interests of the developing countries.

One of the world's worst industrial tragedies took place in Bhopal on 2 December 1984. The aftermath of this event has scarred the lives of thousands of people. The Government of India had taken upon itself the

responsibility to secure compensation for those affected and provide them relief. The legal processes have been completed by the directive of the Supreme Court on 3 October 1991. The Government will ensure maximum relief to the victims.

The tourism sector has emerged as one of the largest foreign exchange earners providing employment to many. The Government has launched a major initiative to accelerate growth of tourism in co-operation with the State Governments, travel trade and hotel industry. This has already started yielding results and the tourist arrivals have picked up, recording the highest level of international tourist arrivals in December 1991. The Government's tourism action plan includes tourist facilitation at international airports, liberalized charter policy, creation of special tourism areas for integrated development and intensive marketing of select destinations along with a major thrust to the promotion of domestic and low budget tourism. Our people must be provided with adequate facilities so that they get to see and know their own country better. With this in view the Government will focus on youth tourism.

The foundation of our future security and progress lies to a great extent in agricultural growth. The dramatic progress we have made in agriculture, including in food crops, horticulture, fisheries, animal breeds and poultry, has a lot to do with progress in our research laboratories, but more than all else, it is the story of the life of the Indian farmer, his grit and determination. 1990-91 was the third agricultural year in succession when a new record in foodgrains production was achieved. During 1991-92 the south-west monsoon was erratic in its temporal and spatial behaviour, and some fall in production is likely. While our researchers are now producing technologies to offset the vagaries of weather, more intensive efforts have to be organized in the long term for improvement of land and productivity in rainfed areas since 70 per cent of India's agriculture is based on rainfed farming. The Government has already taken up a massive programme for improving the productive potential of rainfed land through improved crop practices, effective pest control, prevention of soil erosion and better *in situ* moisture conservation. During the VIII Plan, horticulture, animal husbandry, livestock development and agro-processing will be given high priority. Co-operative and research efforts will be intensified in the sheep, poultry and piggery sectors. Processing and marketing facilities in these and other areas will be strengthened, in order to create the right conditions for an increase in rural incomes. Research emphasis will be on increasing productivity of oilseeds, pulses and cereals, and diversification of agriculture for income and job generation, specially in the rural areas.

Recently, issues associated with the sharing and allocation of waters between States have been generating passions and tensions. It will have to be ensured that water, one of nature's precious gifts, is shared in an equitable manner in the larger national interest. Water is a flowing entity, variable in quantity from year to year and season to season. It should be managed in a harmonious manner in a spirit of understanding and co-operation between

the areas served by it. Rivers should be a binding force for the people of different regions rather than a matter of discord. Every effort should be made to resolve through dialogue all disputes relating to the use of waters of any inter-State river. Should this not be possible, the Government will ensure expeditious settlement of the disputes through the adjudication machinery set up by law for the purpose.

Effective measures are being taken to generate greater employment opportunities for the most disadvantaged sections through the Integrated Rural Development Programme and the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. Special efforts will be made to expand employment opportunities for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women. No effort would be spared to provide safe drinking water to our people, on which depends the state of their health. All identified 'no source problem villages' will be provided with a drinking water source by the end of 1992-93. In recognition of Shri Rajiv Gandhi's commitment to provide safe drinking water to the remotest of remote villages, the Government has renamed the Technology Mission on Drinking Water for Rural Areas as the Rajiv Gandhi National Drinking Water Mission. Rural housing will receive special attention by improving the quality of implementation of the Indira Aawas Yojana. The Government is committed to the strengthening of the Panchayati Raj institutions so that effective political power rests with the people themselves. To this end, a Constitution Amendment Bill has been introduced in the Lok Sabha in September, 1991.

Poverty is no less acute in the urban areas. Employment generation and poverty alleviation schemes in the urban sector will be continued. A new National Housing Policy is on the anvil. The main objective of the new policy will be to create an enabling environment for housing activity and to assist people, in particular the vulnerable sections, to secure for themselves affordable shelters through access to developed land, building materials, finances and technology. The Government is committed to the eradication of the dehumanising practice of manual scavenging through low cost sanitation schemes under a time-bound programme. Schemes for conversion of dry latrines into low cost sanitation units have been already approved for over 740 towns in the country. Rehabilitation of those engaged in the practice of scavenging is also being undertaken. The Government has decided to bring legislation under Article 252 of the Constitution making the practice of engaging manual scavengers an offence. A Constitution Amendment Bill has been introduced in the Lok Sabha to strengthen urban local bodies so that they are able to provide better facilities and services to the people.

The Government is acutely conscious of the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In respect of repeated incidents of atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a special conference of Chief Ministers was held in October 1991 in order to focus on the need for the State Governments to pay special attention to deal with this problem. The State Governments have also been advised to identify tension-prone areas and to take special administrative measures to deal with them. In the context of job

opportunities for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Government has been taking measures to increase their representation in Government departments, public sector undertakings and banks. With this objective in view the third special recruitment drive is under way at present. In accordance with the commitment given in my address last year, a National Backward Classes Finance and Development Corporation has been set up with an authorized paid up capital of Rs. 200 crore to promote the economic development of the socially and educationally backward classes.

In my last address I had mentioned that steps would be initiated for the effective implementation of the 15-Point Programme for the welfare of minorities which seeks to ensure that minorities are protected and that they are not discriminated against in the matter of employment in public services and benefits from development schemes. To realize this objective the 15-Point Programme is now being recast to make it more effective.

The Government has decided to confer statutory status on the Rehabilitation Council of India. The Council sets the standards for manpower training for rehabilitation of the disabled. The Government has also decided to introduce legislation for setting up a National Trust for the welfare of persons suffering from mental retardation and cerebral palsy.

The Government will give very high priority to the needs of children and women, the most vulnerable of groups in our society. The Government will expand the ICDS programme during the VIII Plan so as to cover the entire country. The girl child will receive particular attention with focus on her nutrition, health and educational needs. The Government is aware that mere legislative, administrative and judicial protection of women is not enough. The ultimate answer to the question of women's equality lies in their empowerment through organising them to defend their social and economic rights and in the creation of better income and self-employment opportunities. The Government, therefore, would implement the Indira Mahila Yojana. Towards this end, the Government has constituted the National Commission for Women.

The Government attaches the highest priority to ensuring that no uncertainty whatsoever exists in the people getting their basic daily necessities. To this end, the Government will make all out efforts to strengthen the Public Distribution System. The corner-stone of the Government's policy here would be vigilance and supervision over distribution at the village level involving local initiatives and entrustment of these responsibilities to women in particular, in order to fight leakages and malpractices. While efforts to improve the functioning of the Public Distribution System all over the country would receive attention, priority would be given to implement the revamped Public Distribution System in about 1700 blocks spread over the remotest and most backward areas of the country, such as those covered by the Integrated Tribal Development Projects, the Drought Prone Areas Programme, the Desert Development Programme, the Designated Hill Areas and Urban Slums. To ensure doorstep delivery of essential commodities to fair price shops, infrastructure and credit facilities would be improved and

strengthened. Commodity coverage in the Public Distribution System would be broadened. Measures in this direction have already been initiated in close co-operation with the State Governments. The Essential Commodities Act, 1955 is being strictly enforced against hoarders and blackmarketeers to enhance and sustain availability of essential commodities and this drive will continue. The Government looks upon the Public Distribution System as the centre of a new social development focus to be imparted to its various anti-poverty programmes. Appropriate linkages will be forged with other programmes like the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and the ICDS. All out efforts are being made to protect and promote the rights and interests of the consumers. At present 28 State Commissions and 360 district forums are functioning in the country under the Consumer Protection Act, 1986. The Chief Ministers have been requested to set up the remaining State Commissions and district forums and to ensure that they function effectively. Eighty-two per cent of the 33,851 complaints filed before the district forums have been decided in favour of the consumers. The Government has recently received the report of the high power Working Group constituted to suggest amendments to the Consumer Protection Act, 1986. The report is presently under examination. The recommendations of the Working Group on the amendments required to make the Consumer Protection Act, 1986 more effective would be discussed in the Central Consumer Protection Council shortly.

The Government is implementing 14 National Health Programmes including the Malaria Eradication Programme, Leprosy Eradication Programme, Control of Blindness and AIDS Control Programme, Kala Azar is being reported year after year and in recent time it has assumed epidemic proportions in Bihar. This needs to be tackled on a war footing. There is also the emerging problem of AIDS. The Government has already prepared a programme to deal with this menace, taking into account, among others, the crucial factor of blood safety. There has been a dramatic reduction in the prevalence rates of leprosy and improvement in the discharge of patients. A comprehensive programme is proposed to be taken up to permanently upgrade opthalmic facilities at the District and Community Health Centre levels. There has generally been a declining trend in the incidence of vaccine preventable diseases.

The rate at which our population is growing will put tremendous pressure on our resources. The Government has taken steps in recent months to evolve an integrated and holistic approach to achieve a marked decline in the birth rate. Towards this end an Action Plan has been drawn up which seeks to improve the quality and outreach of services. It is now proven that birth rates have remained high in areas with low female literacy, low age of girls at marriage and high infant and maternal mortality. It is in these areas that special efforts will be concentrated under the Action Plan. Particular attention will be given to 90 districts in the country which have a crude birth rate of over 39 per thousand. The Action Plan was scrutinized and endorsed by the National Development Council and at a meeting of State Health and

Family Welfare Ministers. The National Development Council has also set up a subcommittee of Chief Ministers on Population Control to act as the focal point for all the measures under this Action Plan. The problem of population is not a concern confined merely to the Central and State Governments. Elected representatives, voluntary organizations, other leaders of public opinion—indeed each one of us, cutting across all sections of society, will have to participate in these efforts. A national consensus on this is the need of the hour and Parliament has to take the lead in this matter.

A National Policy on Education was adopted by Parliament in 1986 and its implementation commenced soon thereafter. Several developments in the sphere of education, and the report of the NPE Review Committee, made it necessary to examine the need for modifications in the Education Policy. The process of examination is soon to conclude and I am confident that the uncertainty in respect of the Policy will now be set at rest reiterating the main thrusts of the 1986 Policy. The National Literacy Mission, which was launched by the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi in May 1988, has made significant strides. I share with you a sense of pride in the fact that all the districts of Kerala and Pondicherry, as well as several in other States, have succeeded in eradicating illiteracy. Total Literacy Campaigns are at present being implemented in nearly 70 districts in the country. The campaigns in these districts will cover nearly 30 million illiterates in various age-groups and would cost Rs. 210 crore. The campaigns are being implemented with the active co-operation and support of voluntary agencies. We, however, still have a long way to go and need to commit ourselves to the great and challenging task of freeing all parts of the country of illiteracy, particularly in the 15—35 age-group, by the end of the VIII Plan. We have simultaneously to work towards universalization of primary education—comprising universal access, universal participation and universal achievement of minimum levels of learning. The formal system of primary education has been strengthened by a Centrally sponsored scheme of Operation Blackboard which is designed to provide necessary infrastructure. Three lakh eighty thousand schools out of a total of 5.7 lakh in the country have already been covered. More than 70,000 additional teachers have been appointed. Assistance from the Central Government to the tune of Rs. 620 crore has already been provided. In addition, to provide learning opportunities to those children who are not in a position to avail themselves of formal school facilities, 2.45 lakh centres of Non-Formal Education are being conducted by State Governments. Another 27 thousand are being conducted by 410 voluntary agencies. Central assistance to the tune of Rs. 208 crore has been provided towards these efforts. We also need to effectively delink degrees from jobs and to give to the entire educational system a work and vocational orientation. A decision has already been taken to set up a Central Institute of Vocational Education under the National Council of Educational Research and Training. The Institute will actively promote the vocationalization of education. The need to persist with attention to improvement of technical education is obvious. It is essential to create

conditions for much greater rigour in teaching and research and to enlarge the number of institutions pursuing standards of excellence.

Events on the world scene have continued to unfold at an amazing pace since I last addressed Parliament in July last year. The intervening period has been an extremely active one in India's foreign policy.

The Governments's foreign policy priorities are to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of India, to ensure our geopolitical security by creating a durable environment of stability and peace in our region and to build up a framework conducive to the economic well-being of our people by encouraging a healthy external economic environment. Within this overall framework of priorities, we are of course not only conscious of our geographical location, but are aware that our destiny lies in Asia, more specifically in South Asia. The very fact that the First Asian Relations Conference was convened by India as early as 1947 bears witness to the fact that this has been the central pillar of independent India's foreign policy from the very beginning. India's policies are geared to be a part of resurgent Asia as it is our hope that the 21st century would be an Asian century.

Strengthening relations with our neighbours on a bilateral basis as well as through the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation is of the highest priority. The recent SAARC Summit held in Colombo should hopefully impart economic content to growing co-operation amongst the South Asian countries within the SAARC framework.

The recent visit of the Prime Minister of Nepal has ushered in a qualitatively new era of relations between the two countries resulting in opening very important areas of co-operation which will fortify the unique closeness of our ties, strengthened by the emergence of multi-party democracy in Nepal,

The recent visit of the Chinese Premier has been an important milestone in the further development of our relations. We have enhanced our mutual understanding through exchange of views on bilateral, regional and international issues at the highest level.

We are keen that the traditional friendly relations with Bangladesh are further expanded in the changed context with the advent of democracy in Bangladesh becoming an additional bond between the two countries.

We are committed to the strengthening and consolidation of bilateral relations with Sri Lanka in keeping with the traditional and historical ties between the two countries. The voluntary return of Sri Lankan refugees back to their homeland, based on assurances received from the Sri Lanka Government, commenced on 20 January 1992 and is continuing.

Our close relations with the Maldives are being further consolidated with a number of exchange of visits at high level between the two countries during 1991.

Periodic high level exchanges have helped maintain and strengthen close understanding and co-operation in our excellent relations with Bhutan.

Pakistan's negative approach towards India and its support to terrorism in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir continue to be the main impediments to

normalization of relations. The dangers inherent in its actions in violation of the Simla Agreement and universally accepted norms of inter-State conduct have been repeatedly pointed out to Pakistan. We have nevertheless continued with our efforts to carry the confidence building process and bilateral dialogue forward. Unfortunately, in the recent past, the Government of Pakistan and the Pakistan National Assembly have chosen to associate themselves with statements and actions that have vitiated the atmosphere. We hope that the Government of Pakistan will join us in serious endeavours to establish tension-free and good neighbourly relations between the two countries.

On 26 December 1991, we announced our decision to accord formal recognition to the Russian Federation and to all the other Republics of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Russia has assumed the role of a successor State and has taken over the seat of the erstwhile Soviet Union in the United Nations Security Council. We have sought to maintain our traditionally close relations not only with Russia but with the other republics as well. In addition to our embassy in Moscow, we plan to open embassies in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus and upgrade our Consulate General in Tashkent in Uzbekistan. A high level delegation recently visited Russia and Ukraine to establish a new framework of political relations with these independent republics and to review arrangements for maintaining our long standing trade and economic links with them. Several leaders from the Central Asian republics have visited and are expected to visit India during the next few months. During these visits, we shall seek to conclude appropriate agreements to promote our political, economic, commercial and cultural ties with these countries with whom we share historic bonds of friendship.

The values of democracy, individual liberty and respect for human rights which we share with the United States of America provide a strong basis for close co-operation between the two largest democracies of the world. Our expanding consultations in both bilateral and multilateral fora encompass a wide range of issues including peace, security and threats emanating from terrorism and drug-trafficking. The United States is our largest trading partner and a major source of technology. It has been supportive of our efforts to overcome our temporary economic difficulties and launch a far-reaching programme of economic reform. We look forward to a long-term and mutually rewarding economic partnership with the United States. The Prime Minister had a very useful meeting with President George Bush in New York during the recent UN Security Council meeting. There was a strong mutual interest expressed in further consolidating and expanding our bilateral and multidimensional ties.

We attach special importance to our relations with countries of West Asia and North Africa. We have over the years extended consistent and unequivocal support to the Arab cause particularly to the Palestinian struggle for their just and inalienable rights. India has welcomed the reactivation of the West Asian peace process and the ongoing dialogue between Arab States and Israel to find a just and equitable settlement to the Arab-Israeli dispute.

Given the changed political realities in the region, India has decided to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. We look forward to establishing a comprehensive and multifaceted relationship with Israel.

India enjoys an enormous fund of mutual goodwill with African countries because of our consistent and effective support to the anti-colonial struggle in South Africa. We are proud that the liberation struggle in South Africa against apartheid has led to tangible reforms since 1990.

We have played a catalytic role in efforts to resolve the Cambodian conflict. India was among the countries specially mentioned in the Paris International Conference on Cambodia for facilitating the peace process.

We have demonstrated our support against attempts to institutionalize racial discrimination in Fiji by taking up the matter at the UN General Assembly from 1987 onwards and by opposing the re-entry of Fiji into the Commonwealth.

Japan's position as an economic superpower in the present world draws us closer to enlarge our bilateral co-operation on a wide range of matters of mutual concern which we believe is an important factor for peace and progress.

We have enjoyed age-old cultural and bilateral ties with the countries of South-East Asia. This is a region which has made rapid progress in a very short time. The economic initiatives taken by the Government will create fresh opportunities for strengthening our economic interaction with this region. The Government attaches high priority to strengthening our relations with ASEAN and its member countries. We look forward to initiating our sectoral dialogue with ASEAN soon.

Europe's emergence following the Maastricht Summit meeting last December as a stronger political and economic entity in the modern world is of great significance. The European Community is our major trading partner and an important source of investment and we are keen to expand and strengthen further our co-operation. Our Prime Minister's first visit abroad was to Germany where he discussed with German leaders a wide range of subjects of mutual concern and co-operation between the two countries. We have also had a useful dialogue with other major European countries like the United Kingdom, France and Portugal.

With the sweeping changes brought about by recent events at the end of the cold war and issues connected therewith, the new configuration is bound to assume a new North-South complexion, in the framework of a non-confrontationist context and methodology. The developing countries of the world will need to gear themselves for this new odyssey of development, aimed at the attainment of equitable prosperity all over the world. World peace and comprehensive disarmament would make an important contribution to this ultimate vision of a happy and fulfilled humankind. India will work towards the realization of this vision.

At the multilateral level, our participation has similarly been within our overall framework of priorities. The Non-aligned Movement is readjusting in a dynamic manner to the breathtaking pace of global developments. We have

reaffirmed our faith in its continued relevance. The independence of national decision-making that is enshrined in its philosophy is today more relevant than ever before. In other multilateral fora such as the G-15 and the Commonwealth Summit, the Prime Minister not only articulated our views on important issues but re-emphasised the need to restore the centrality and criticality of development issues on the multilateral agenda. The Uruguay Round of negotiations has reached a crucial stage. We shall continue to defend our vital interests and seek improvements as we work towards the establishment of a fair and balanced multilateral trading system.

Environmental issues are fast moving to the forefront of international concern and attention. We are actively participating in multilateral co-operative efforts and supporting the forging of a global partnership which seeks to integrate the developmental needs of the developing countries in solutions to environmental problems.

We believe that given the global reach of nuclear weapons we need to follow a global approach with regard to nuclear disarmament issues. Partial or piecemeal measures such as Limited Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, therefore, seem to be of little utility and could even detract us from our ultimate goal.

The Summit level meeting of the UN Security Council on 31 January 1992 served to highlight the new and effective role that the UN has assumed in the wake of the momentous changes in the international situation. Our Prime Minister set forth at the meeting our position on some vital issues such as a new international consensus on a global non-proliferation regime, harmonization of the defence of national integrity with respect for human rights and a just and fair world economic order. The meeting provided an opportunity for world leaders to exchange ideas on the future of the United Nations and to pledge their support to the new Secretary General.

India is on the threshold of taking rapid and purposeful strides into the future. Conditions are being created so that there is an acceleration in the pace of development, our people can enjoy a better quality of life and India can hold her own in a rapidly changing world. The present is full of challenges as well as opportunities. Let us convert the challenges into opportunities. Let us not shy away from treading new paths. Let us be bold and innovative in our approach. The hardships of the present are only the harbingers of a brighter future. But even as we move into the future, let us be disciplined and resolute in our approach. Let us shun acrimony for dialogue, violence for amity lest we be deflected into the by-lanes of history.

Honourable Members will be called upon to consider in this session important legislative business and other matters of great national importance. Your deliberations will, I am sure, be informed by reflection and wisdom. I now commend you to your tasks and wish you all success.

Striving for Excellence in Administration

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be amidst you at this premier institute for the training of civil servants in India. As probationers all of you must have been accustomed to homilies and lectures from a succession of speakers from different walks of life. It is not my intention to subject you to another sermon but to share my thoughts with you, drawing from my own association with civil servants spread over more than half a century in public life.

Under the British, the civil service was described as the steel frame of India. It was not an inaccurate description, except that the frame then was required to shoulder but a few relatively non-complex tasks, of which the maintenance of law and order was the most important. The police and the magistracy constituted the bulk of the services in those days.

During the struggle for Independence, the Father of the Nation promised that in the Swaraj that he envisaged, poverty, illiteracy, disease and squalor would be eliminated, that human dignity would be restored and that peace and prosperity would be ushered into every household. The emphasis on social services was a reflection of the concept of a Welfare State that India wanted to become. In implementing these promises after Independence, the mechanism of planning was adopted and detailed plans for improvement of agriculture, development of industries, provision of education from primary to postgraduate research, health care, etc. were drawn up. The civil services were, therefore, called upon to shoulder new responsibilities, display new skills and adopt new attitudes towards the people.

At the end of World War II, the country was plagued by shortages of almost everything, food, clothing, housing, capital for investment and raw materials for industries, *ad infinitum*. So a stiff regimen of controls had to be part of the planning process, investing the bureaucracy with enormous discretionary powers. Often times the civil servant was called upon to manage industrial, scientific and technical tasks for which he was hardly equipped adequately.

By and large, the earlier members of your service made the transition to this new and enlarged definition of their role, a success. An institution survives and grows if it has in it the ability to adjust and adapt to changing circumstances. If it becomes brittle or fossilized, it will die. The survival of the civil service in India is a tribute to its ability to adapt and accept the changing realities of the new India in the making.

But the civil services not only survived, they also expanded. The earlier batches of your service, were much smaller. The subsequent expansion was not entirely incongruent with the needs and requirements of a nation with new priorities and growing expectations. And yet, this very expansion—not

only of your service but of the bureaucracy as a whole—spawned its own problems. On the one hand, good government came to be associated with big government. Bureaucratism and red tapism grew like hothouse plants. What required the signature of approval of one competent official now required the endorsement of six routinized functionaries. Initiative and innovation got a back seat. Rules and regulations tended to become an end in themselves. The larger aims and goals often got submerged in a deluge of unproductive paper work.

The result was that the sincere and hard-working official, impatient to achieve results, often became cynical. To this there were other contributing factors, viz., the general deterioration of standards of ethics and integrity in the nation as a whole, and excessive and unwarranted political interference. A few also took advantage of the situation to enrich themselves immorally and illegally. But I, for one, am convinced that officials of the latter category have always been a minority, at least in our premier services. The large majority of honest and uncompromising bureaucrats often felt unsure and isolated in a milieu they did not approve of, but felt helpless to change. A certain negativism came to occasionally inform their activities.

I am aware that there were also other frustrations, particularly with regard to the feeling that service conditions were steadily eroding. To some extent, such an erosion was unavoidable. If, earlier, there were only a few privileged beneficiaries of the productive cake of the country, now there were many more. The situation was not very dissimilar to that summed up in a Mughal saying: *Yak anar, sad bimar*—One pomegranate, a hundred sick men. But perceptions about a fall in living conditions became magnified in the face of the other developments to which I have made reference earlier. I am mentioning all this because I want you to know that the Government is aware of your problems. It is not my intention to make a mechanical exhortation to idealism without a reference to the realities on the ground. However, keeping in mind the situation as it exists, I would like to share a few thoughts which could perhaps serve as reference points to you as you venture out into the real world of work and action.

Firstly, I would like you to be conscious of the drama and challenge of nation building of which you are a part. I would like you to think of yourselves not only as so many cogs in an impersonal wheel, but as full-fledged engines of growth and change in your own right. Whether you are in the Districts, or at the State capital, or at the Centre, there will always be ample scope for substantive work in the assignment given to you. You will see for yourself the panorama of developmental activities and realize that through their implementation you can make a real impact on the lives of those around you. In the State capital or at the Centre, many of you will be dealing with areas of economic activity which have assumed critical importance today. Recently, the Government has taken steps to restructure the economy for greater productivity and growth. The industrial, fiscal and trade policies have been radically altered.

We are making a U turn from the days of controlled economy to an era of free market economy and the bureaucracy has to adjust itself to the change. From a negative attitude, the civil servant has to adopt a positive attitude of helping the process of change. Bluntly put, the civil servant instead of ferretting out rules for denying or refusing a scheme or a cause must find ways and means of helping in the process of growth and development.

Excellence must be the motto of your life not so much to earn promotions in your career but for your own inner satisfaction. You must regard performance below your best an insult to yourself. I am not one of those who glorify the past and denigrate the present. Every generation produces its quota of national talent and this generation is no exception.

Secondly, I would like you to always remember that it is the inherent right of a bureaucrat to give advice objectively without fear. Very often we do not fully appreciate that our civil services have more protection under law than most countries in the world. The Constitution guarantees you security of tenure. The terms and conditions of your service are regulated by statute and the statutory rules. Most of your powers are derived from the law of the land. You are the agents of the Constitution and the creation of law, and nobody is above the law of the land. That being so, you have nothing to be afraid of, save and except, the law of the land.

Thirdly, I would request you to conscientiously avoid becoming complacent. Your training at present is the beginning and not the end of your intellectual growth. If you lose enthusiasm and become strait-jacketed by the routine, your ability to contribute will be severely constrained. I know that all of you are bright. But I would like you to hone that brightness so that you can continue to broaden and widen the horizons of your thoughts and ideas.

Unfortunately in our country acquisition of knowledge ends with the receipt of a parchment of a university degree. Advances in science, technology and in fact in every discipline takes place all the time but very few try to update their knowledge and keep abreast of the vast changes taking place. In western countries, executives always take refresher courses from time to time in order to march with the times. We should endeavour to provide such opportunities to our civil servants.

Bureaucracies, like many other institutions, have a tendency to stick to status quo. Even the competent sometimes unthinkingly become victims of its relentless humdrum. When I was Minister of Industry in the State of Tamil Nadu, I had to deal with a situation where bricks were in shortage. Accordingly, an ordinance was issued regulating the supply of bricks. A year later, I asked the official in charge to review the working of the regulatory regime. I was told that the regulation has yielded satisfactory results, that shortage of bricks had eased and that therefore, the regulatory law may be continued for another year. I had to point out to him that if there was no shortage any more there was no need for the regulatory law. This is exactly what had happened to all our regulatory laws. They have been continued even though the reasons for their promulgation had vanished. Our growth had been stunted because we failed to remove many of those restrictions in time.

The IAS is regarded as an elite service. I would like you to evaluate in your mind what exactly should be the definition of an elite service. Does a service become an 'elite' one because of the pay and perquisites it enjoys? Or should it be judged to be 'elite' in terms of its conduct and attitude, performance and efficiency? I think it is incumbent upon you to strive to maintain the high standards of the tradition of which you have become a part. In this endeavour, the single most important attribute of your service, in terms of public appreciation, will be its image of integrity.

Integrity is a comprehensive term. At one level it means probity and rectitude. At another it includes objectivity, impartiality and fairness. A civil service, which maintains the highest rectitude, objectivity, and efficiency can alone command respect, inspire confidence and function effectively.

I am sure that when you leave Mussoorie and take up your duties, you will remember that the prestige and occasional pomp that surrounds your work should not make you blind or insensitive to your obligations to the public at large. I know that the notion of the senior bureaucrat as a *sahib* still persists in some circles. This concept is no longer valid in the democratic society we have established. All I can say, is that in the India of today, no Indian bureaucrat can afford to remain aloof from, or insensitive to, the needs of the people, for whose welfare he is in office.

You are the legatees of a rich and noble tradition. You keep the administration going when political leadership falters or fails in the country.

In a democracy, the civil service is permanent while cabinets are transient and changing. Unless the civil services are free from political affiliations and walk on the straight path of objectivity, the nation will suffer, degenerate and decay. I have every faith that the new generation will prove equal to the new problems and challenges facing us now and may arise in future.

I wish you all success in life.

Challenges Before Our Democratic System

IN MY OWN time, I have not been an orator nor have I been an eloquent speaker, but, I have always been a good debater. But on this occasion, I find that my words fail me and I am not able to respond in the way in which I would like to, because I am overwhelmed by your kindness, your generosity and your nobility. Even if I were to ransack the whole library of English literature I will fail to find words of adequate expression of my warm and heartfelt thanks, for the kindness you have shown to me this evening.

You, my good friends are noble minds and you have everlooked all my foibles, all my weaknesses and my shortcomings and you have generously given me this encomium in this august assembly. I shall always cherish this great occasion.

If I take the 1942 landmark when we joined the Quit India Movement as the beginning of my active political career, today fifty years have passed since then. And during all this period I have tried to discharge all the obligations and responsibilities I had undertaken to the best of my ability. I have held public offices for the past 27 years. Ten years I was a Minister in Madras, four years I was in the Planning Commission, from January 1980 until 25 July 1987, I have held public offices. Of this, I had been a private Member of Parliament for ten years, seven years in the Treasury Benches and three years in the Opposition.

When I look back on this long career, I have a deep sense of satisfaction and a sense of fulfilment. I would not have satisfied everybody; nor could anyone do that. I have always tried to act according to my conscience, irrespective of the praise or the abuse that followed my action. I now have a feeling of fulfilment that my life has not been a waste. It has been of some utility to some section of the people for some time at least. This is not the time to deliver a didactic lecture on what Parliamentarians should do. But still I would like to say that it is necessary that as the custodian of the country, the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary it is incumbent on all of us to see that we preserve the greatness of India that was and pass it on to posterity as a great country.

Parliamentarians have a great responsibility in that they have to discharge their functions under several constraints, sometimes act according to popular opinion; sometimes even against the popular opinion where the popular opinion is not correct; but always in tune with the popular sentiments and opinions that prevail at that time. In this difficult task I should say with all my experience over several years, the Indian Parliament has discharged its responsibility to the best of its ability and honour.

Our country has great problems, much greater than those of any other country. Other countries which became independent did not have the same problems as we had. At the time when we became Independent we were short of food, clothing, housing and capital for development. In fact, it was an era of shortages in every field of activity. During the last forty years, we have overcome most of these difficulties. There is no food shortage any more; our industrial development has reached a stage where we can be ranked among the first fifteen countries in the world. In science and technology, we have advanced tremendously and can be placed at the head of the list of the developing countries and in a comparable position with the developed countries. All this has been achieved through parliamentary co-operation and parliamentary decision.

In fact, the entire Plan, right from the First one, has been approved by Parliament and endorsed by the people. In the days when we were discussing the First Plan, there was a body of opinion among the Parliamentarians

themselves, that Planning meant authoritarian government. The only experience we had at that time of Planning was from the Soviet Union where there was an authoritarian government. And therefore, they equated Planning with authoritarianism. Thanks to the vision of Pandit Nehru, the greatest Prime Minister this country has produced and one of the greatest Prime Ministers, the world has produced, we were able to get through the entire Plan with the concurrence of the people and the country.

So, when we now think in terms of the relevance of Planning in the new set up, in the new economic approach, I would like to re-emphasize that free market economy and Planning are not contradictory. Planning has a rightful place in the economic system of our country. We should continue to devote all the emphasis that we have been giving on the service of the weaker and the vulnerable sections of society. This is possible only under Planning and not under any other system.

I would also like to remind the Members of what I said when I assumed the Office of the President. I said that I would neither fail to exercise the jurisdiction vested in the President nor would I clutch at jurisdiction which was not vested in the President. I am happy to say that I have kept my word.

The President under the Indian Constitution is like an 'emergency lamp'. When the power fails, the 'emergency lamp' comes into operation; when the power is restored, the 'emergency lamp' becomes dormant. We framed a Constitution on the Westminster model. Several experts had given the opinion that the executive responsibility for the administration of the country rested with the Prime Minister and the President was not, either an appellate authority over the Prime Minister or a supervisory authority over the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. If the political power is there, the responsibility for the acts and omissions are taken by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet and Parliament. If anything goes wrong, the President is neither accused nor challenged. But it is the Prime Minister and his Cabinet that is being criticized and even thrown out. Therefore, the President should, in my opinion, be dormant when the political power is effective.

Take, for instance, some of the suggestions that are emanating from time to time from legal experts. They say that the President should interfere when a recommendation, say, for imposition of President's rule comes before him for acceptance. Suppose, there is a situation in which the law and order is very serious and the President asks for clarification and in the meanwhile rioting takes place and people are massacred. Can the Prime Minister go to Parliament and say, "The President delayed or withheld his assent and, therefore, I am not responsible but the President is responsible?" Can the President be criticized and even abused in the House? The Constitution protects the President's rights. It is my opinion that as long as there is a duly constituted majority government, the responsibility for all acts rests with the Prime Minister and Parliament and the country must give the support to them. Support does not mean that they must blindly and implicitly accept whatever he says.

Of course, there may be occasions when there is a constitutional infirmity and the President notices it. In that case, the President always sends it back for consideration or for legal opinion. But that must be only in cases where there is a constitutional infirmity in the proposal placed before the President.

At the same time, I said, I would not fail to exercise the jurisdiction vested in the President. The President becomes responsible for choosing a Prime Minister, ensuring the continued administration of the country, and making arrangements for a democratically elected government to take charge. When the Prime Minister has resigned and the Prime Minister's resignation has been accepted and the President asks him to continue till a new government is formed, then the responsibility for seeing that the norms of administration are maintained is with the President.

Therefore, the country must reconcile to two situations. Firstly, when there is a popularly elected government commanding the majority of the House, the confidence of the House, the acts of the Prime Minister must prevail. If there is no government and the country is plunged into a situation in which immediately a government cannot be formed, then the responsibility for the President arises to see that the administration is carried on according to norms and to see that the democratically elected government comes into power. I want this to be clarified because there is a growing opinion which, in my humble thought, is dangerous to democracy itself. There should be only one authority in any government, in any State, in any country. There cannot be a second centre of power in a country and if a second centre of power is developed in the country, conflict will develop; confusion and chaos will follow. Of course, you will be taunted that you are a rubber stamp President. But a President who gets annoyed with the taunts is not fit to be a President. You will have to take the good with the bad, criticism with praise, abuse with encomium. This is one thought which I want to leave with you.

I have never been of the opinion that I was always right. But I have always put forward opinions so that the country may debate them and then find a solution to these problems. If you hide all these problems under the carpet, you will never solve them. It is better to have the problems discussed openly, in a straightforward manner and then conclusions reached.

There are people who said that I have been an activist President. Unfortunately, 'power' in Delhi fails too often and too frequently and for too long a time. And therefore, it looks as if the President is active. On the other hand, I have been accused of being a rubber stamp because that was a period when Parliament had an absolute majority government and the country was safe in the hands of the elected representatives. Therefore, one should not be either misled into acting in a wrong way or flattered into acting in a wrong way by these things. I am sure that years later somebody will do research on what had happened in 1990-91 or rather 1989-91 and see how far the Constitution had been upheld at that time. I do not claim any credit. But I say this with authority. I have maintained both the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Friends, I am very grateful to you for the honour you have given me. You have been extremely kind to me not only when I was the President but also when I was a Member of the House and participated in all the debates. If there is one thing which I will remember in all my life it is the period when I had been a private Member of Parliament, an Opposition Member of Parliament and Minister in the Cabinet. Thank you all very much.

Time to Bid Adieu

ON THE EVE of my retirement from the office of the President, I wish to express my warm and sincere thanks to you, my fellow citizens, for the kindness, courtesy, confidence and co-operation extended to me during the last five years. I am really at a loss to find words to express adequately my heartfelt gratitude to the nation. It is a debt I can never hope to repay.

It is customary for the retiring President to share his thoughts with the nation before leaving office. I had on various occasions, particularly during the Independence Day and Republic Day broadcasts drawn the attention of the nation to the problems faced by us and the possible remedies therefor. I am afraid I have nothing new to add on this occasion. However, some aspects of our national life need reiteration even at the risk of tedious repetition.

It is my firm conviction that India which has had a glorious past has also an equally glorious future. One has to only compare the conditions in India at the time of our Independence with the present to realize the immense strides the country has made since then.

The food deficit has been overcome, industrial development has taken us to one among the first 15 countries in the world, and, our scientific and technological advances have placed us foremost among the developing countries. If in spite of all these achievements, poverty stalks the country, it is because of the disconcerting growth in population which dilutes every improvement in our national income. Besides, the higher birth rate among the weaker sections of the society accentuates poverty and the number below the poverty line. Unless all social welfare organizations and the media co-operate to tackle this problem, and the political parties eschew the temptation to use family limitation programmes for electoral advantage, the nation will face an irretrievable crisis very soon.

The spectacular progress that India has made since Independence is because of the unity and integrity of the country. The wealth of the nation is owned and utilized for the betterment of the life of the people as a whole. Imagine for a moment what a chaos it would have been if, like Europe, each

linguistic area was a separate country; the passports, visas, currency exchanges and customs barriers would have completely thwarted India's growth. It is precisely because of these reasons that Europe started the process of integrating into a common market and is still to achieve full integration. On the other hand, India is perhaps the biggest common market freely exchanging goods and services without barriers of any kind and sharing the wealth of the nation among all its people. Poet Subramania Bharati sang:

*“Ondru Pattal Undu Vazhvu—Nammil
Otrumai Neengil Anaivarkkum Taalvu”.*

(United we shall have (good) life
Divided all of us shall fall low).

It is, therefore, the sacred duty of every citizen to preserve the national unity. Let us not deny to our progeny the heritage of a united nation by shortsighted activities of disruption and disunity.

The hallmark of the Indian ethos, irrespective of the diverse regional, caste, creed and linguistic barriers, has been tolerance of other's faiths, opinions and ways of life, compassion and consideration for the less privileged sections of society, respect for the human person and human dignity, and the observance of Dharma or righteous conduct in day to day life. Every religion has preached these noble ideals and every saint and sage has reiterated them through successive generations. Poet Iqbal sang:

“Religion does not teach us
To quarrel amongst ourselves.”

And yet, today's moderns are indulging in hatred and violence in the name of religion and disrupting the even flow of life. Christianity came to India in the first century AD and Islam during the 7th century and they had all lived in peace and harmony ever since, till the British resorted to the imperial strategem of *divide et impera* and brought about disharmony in the country. The peaceful coexistence of religions has been the greatest asset of Indian civilization. One shudders to think of the violence and hatred generated among brethren of the same country in the name of God and religion. The solution to the problem lies with you, the people of this great country. If you refuse to join any disruptive activity in the name of religion, the exploiters will stand exposed.

Democracy in its true sense does not rest merely on holding elections periodically but is a civilized way of life, where everyone observes the law voluntarily and respects the rights of other fellow citizens. It is a way of life, where people resolve differences by dialogue, debate and discussion and not by resort to violence and force. It is a way of life, where self-interest yields place to common good and there is readiness to sacrifice one's rights for the sake of the betterment of the weaker and vulnerable sections of society. Unfortunately, we have abandoned all the finer instincts of man in the pursuit

of selfish gains. The heartless killings of innocents in buses, trains, market places and thoroughfares, innocents who are in no way connected with the issues posed by militants, is a shame on the nation. It has also thwarted the progress of society to a higher standard of life and comfort. One has only to ask oneself "Has anyone benefited by such brutal and violent activities?".

Gandhiji is becoming more and more relevant in these chaotic days. The nation will do well to remember his teachings.

It is a matter of deep personal satisfaction to me that Dr Shanker Dayal Sharma has been elected the next President of India. An eminent scholar well versed in Sanskrit, an erudite jurist not only by learning but also by his vast experience, a tried and tested veteran in the cause of national integrity and unity, and above all, a dedicated worker devoted to the welfare of the weaker sections of society, Dr Sharma brings to bear on the high office of the President all the qualities that would go to make his tenure an unqualified success. I wish him a smooth and pleasant term as the Head of State. I appeal to you friends to extend to him not only your co-operation, but your kindness and affection.

In conclusion, brothers and sisters, I wish you all peace, prosperity and happiness in your life.

II

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A Vibrant and Resilient Sector

I HAVE GREAT pleasure to inaugurate this seminar on 'Vistas of Small-scale Industries in the Nineties' organized by the National Confederation of Small-scale Industries.

As one who has had long, close and cherished association with small industries in Tamil Nadu, it gladdens me to see saplings planted in Guindy, Ambattur and all over the State taking firm root and now yielding flowers and fruits.

The National Confederation of Small Industries being launched by those who were associated with the initial ventures of the small sector in the Industrial Estates at Ambattur and Guindy, fully vindicates the vision of the late Sri Kamaraj.

I am reminded today of the situation as prevailed here twenty-five years ago. Apart from the textile industry and a few sugar factories, there were no major industries worth mentioning at that time. Modern small industries using power and up-to-date machinery and employing specialised methods were almost absent. Madras was regarded as a benighted agricultural province, with little power, capital and infrastructure. The provincial administration also lacked enterprise. It refused to buy up the Madras Tramways which was closing down for a sum as low as Rs. 19 lakh.

It was only when Sri Kamaraj took over as Chief Minister that the Government launched a massive programme of industrialisation. As Minister in charge of Industry, Power and Transport, in Sri Kamaraj's Cabinet, it was my privilege to start a string of industrial estates in the entire State giving a fillip to small industries and entrepreneurs.

Initially the concept of small industries was linked to production of consumer items. That small, medium and large enterprises had an in-built mutuality was not realised at that time. But new ideas, even when they are obviously sound, take time to be accepted. Such is the conventionality of the human mind. Even medium and large industries themselves produced all the spare parts and ancillaries needed by them at higher costs. When the small industries proved that they could supply these requirements at cheaper cost and in quicker time the breakthrough in the development of small industries was achieved.

The Industrial Estate came in handy for production of ancillaries and components. That was when the Second Plan priority was just beginning. The original idea was to set up 10 estates at a total cost of less than one crore rupees. But the response was so overwhelming that by the end of the Second Plan we had constructed nine estates with 237 units set up at a cost of Rs. 155

lakh. The estates were spread out in Guindy, Madurai, Tiruchy, Virudhunagar, Tirunelveli, Katpadi, Erode, Thanjavur and Kanyakumari.

At Guindy itself, 128 units came up with an imposing variety of lines of production ranging from machine tools, dyes, high voltage line material, electronic instruments and consumer items like tape recorder, electrical appliances, fans, casting forgings, etc.

I recall with pleasure how delighted Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri was when he later visited the Estates. Lal Bahadurji was instinctively able to perceive the vista which lay ahead of this sector.

And so, thanks to the pragmatism of Sri Kamaraj, the dynamism of Jawaharlal Nehru and the support of leaders like Lal Bahadurji, the small-scale sector was assigned a key role in the industrial development, side by side with major industries. The rich potential of this sector in fostering industrial growth due to its low capital investment, short gestation period and high employment content, came to be recognized and respected. All that is now part of history.

What of the future? You have rightly used the word “vista” in the context of the future prospects of the small-scale sector. Let me tell you specifically that the vista is vast. It is in fact infinite.

The climate is now particularly conducive for the growth of this sector. I am glad to note that, inaugurating the first meeting of the Small-Scale Industries Board on 6 August 1990, the Prime Minister observed that the small-scale sector has “proven potential for dynamic growth, technology-upgradation and ability to compete internationally”.

The small-scale sector has now emerged as a vibrant and resilient sector of the economy and has shown phenomenal growth during the last four decades. At present over 5,000 items are being produced by about 15 lakh small units in the country. The range of products and technology varies from the ordinary to the highly sophisticated.

It accounts for about 25 per cent of the total direct exports of the country and contributes about 35 per cent of our entire industrial production.

It is a matter of satisfaction that in the New Industrial Policy statement it is provided that the investment ceiling in plant and machinery for small-scale industries (fixed in 1985) would be raised from the present Rs. 35 lakh to Rs. 60 lakh and correspondingly, for ancillary units from Rs. 45 lakh to Rs. 75 lakh.

Such of the small-scale units which undertake to export at least 30 per cent of the annual production by the third year will be permitted to step up their investment in plant and machinery to Rs. 75 lakh.

I am sure you will all welcome the proposal to raise investment ceiling in respect of tiny units from the present Rs. 2 lakh to Rs. 5 lakh. Presently, 836 items have been reserved for exclusive manufacture in the small-scale sector. Efforts to identify more items amenable to similar reservation need to be redoubled.

All these steps make the vista for the small-scale sector not just vast but also exciting.

I would like all entrepreneurs have to seize the opportunity. The future is theirs, provided they act with a right blend of bold risk-taking with circumspection.

I know there are some hurdles. One of the persistent complaints of the small-scale units is their being subjected to a large number of acts/laws, being required to maintain a number of registers, submit a plethora of returns and face an army of inspectors, particularly in the field of labour legislation.

‘Inspector-raj’ as it was called, creates a great many problems for the small entrepreneurs. These bureaucratic controls need to be reduced if unnecessary interference is eliminated. I am glad our Prime Minister has said that the dismantling of the ‘Inspector-raj’ will commence straightaway with the ‘tiny’ sector to begin.

In sectors where units require licensing, it is a good policy to encourage location of processing units in rural areas where growers are concentrated.

Apart from economic benefits of proximity to raw materials, this will help in dispersal of industry and increasing employment in rural areas.

It needs to be remembered that the small entrepreneur is generally a first generation industrialist and, therefore, has little experience of planning an industrial project. He has limited financial resources. His knowledge of management, engineering, finance, accounting, marketing is limited.

Small-scale entrepreneurs face numerous problems in setting up and successfully running an enterprise. In addressing itself to these problems the governments both at the Centre and in the State will profit from interaction with the Confederation that has recently been inaugurated.

Perhaps the most severe hardship for small industries is the non-availability of timely credit. Financing institutions usually take their own time and in the meanwhile the small units in view of the paucity of resources become sick. In fact even a quick refusal of credit by financial institutions turns out to be greater blessing to the small unit than the belated sanction of credit.

The viability of the project and not the person should become the norm for grant of credit. This requires expertise in the financing institutions. They, therefore, take to easier course of depending on the viability of the person.

Non-payment of bills by medium and large industries and long delay in payment of bills by Government and public sector undertakings lead to hardship to small units and drive them to sickness.

The Prime Minister has mentioned that the facility of bill discounting and factoring should be provided to small units. This is an excellent suggestion and must be pursued.

I am sure the Confederation will be able to act as a launching board to draw the attention of the authorities to shortages of certain essential raw materials, power, inadequacy of credit facilities and marketing.

More than anything else, I trust the Confederation will be able to do something about the growing incidence of sickness in the small-scale sector. In spite of the measures already undertaken to prevent incidence of sickness, the problem is still daunting us. In absolute terms the flow of funds to the

small-scale sector has grown in the past few years. Even so, inadequate and delayed finance do cause sickness among small-scale industries.

Another crucial area where the Confederation can play a role is in attending to the state of technology and quality maintenance in the small-scale sector. As you are all aware, the designs, equipment and process technology used by the small-scale industries require continuous upgradation. In this age of rapid technological growth and international competition, the Indian small-scale industries cannot afford to remain behind. Constant technological upgradation is the key to industrial growth and self-reliance.

Young and enterprising small-scale entrepreneurs have emerged in different parts of the country converting their shortcomings in terms of capital, power and infrastructure, into assets by a careful harnessing of skills. If India is self-sufficient today, it is in no small measure due to the achievement of these young men and women. I am sure your Confederation will help unfold the vista that awaits you.

Private Sector and Industrial Growth

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you to participate in this historic occasion in the annals of Simpson and Company. May I extend my heartiest felicitations to all those associated with this company—its ‘first family’ as well as the senior staff and workers of the Group who belong to the larger fraternity of Simpsons.

These celebrations kindle cherished memories of my old association with this distinguished company. My mind goes back to the years 1949 to 1957 when, as a spokesman for labour, I came in touch with Simpson & Company. As President of the Simpson Group Companies’ Workers Union, and the Simpson Group Companies’ Staff Union for a period of nearly eight years, I had ample opportunity to study the working of the company. It is no exaggeration to say that the Simpson Group was one of the best managed companies and the Simpson Group Workers Union, one of the best organized labour organizations.

I would like today to pay tribute to the memory of Sri S. Anantharamakrishnan. It was my good fortune to have enjoyed a very cordial rapport with him. He was a gentleman among gentlemen: and my rapport steadily ripened into a personal friendship. Known affectionately to all as ‘J’, his dynamism and his integrity evoked enormous respect from his associates. And the warmth of his personality and his deep-rooted sense of fair play evoked undying loyalty among all who knew and worked with him.

A man with thoughts far in advance of his time, he was humane in his approach to industrial relations and built an everlasting relationship with the workers and their unions on the basis of mutual trust and mutual respect. Endowed with deep humility, he never forgot his humble beginnings—a trait which enabled him, throughout his life, to understand the aspirations of the worker. His mastery over the accounts and management techniques enabled him run his units at peak efficiency. Sri J.R.D. Tata who is a living legend of industrial management, while receiving the Anantaramakrishnan Award said that had Anantaramakrishnan been alive he would have been the first to receive the Award for excellence in management.

I must also mention today, Mr W.W. Ladden, a remarkable personality who had his finger on the pulse of time, who kept pace with the changing needs of society. A man of rich experience, and force of character, Mr Ladden earned for himself a rare distinction by the unprecedented move of voluntarily serving under one—Sri Anantharamakrishnan—whom he felt more suited to the highest post.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the sons of Sri Anantharamakrishnan, are continuing the tradition established by their father, a tradition of hard work coupled with modesty. The Companies of this Group continue to do well, and a climate of harmonious relations continues to prevail, aided by the co-operation extended by the workers and their Unions and the effective role played by the members of the management in the different unit companies.

I can see so many of my friends, captains of industry and commerce gathered here. It is they who have striven for the industrial development of the State during the fifties and sixties. Industrial Houses like the Simpsons, the Murugappas, T.V.S., Kotharis, Seshasayees, Karumuthu Tyagarajas and a number of others helped to put Tamil Nadu on the industrial map of India. I also notice the stalwarts of trade union movement who have laboured hard to improve the lot of the workers. Their presence today invests this function with the warmth of a family gathering at a festival. My mind goes back today to the contributions made towards labour welfare by the great sons of Tamil Nadu like the late Thiru V.K. Varadarajulu Naidu, Jeevanandan, P. Ramamurti, S. Pakkiriswami Pillai, M. Kalyanasundaram to name a few. We are fortunate in having with us some living links with the past, G. Ramanujam, S.C.C. Anthony Pillai, K.R. Nallasivam, P.S. Chinnadurai and T.V. Anandan.

I would like to place on record the contribution of Sri K. Gurumurti to the trade union movement in Tamil Nadu in general and to Simpson Group companies in particular. Inspired by eminent trade unionists like the late Sri V.V. Giri, Sri S. Guruswamy and Sri T.S. Ramanujam, Sri Gurumurti brought enlightened leadership to the workers' union. This is clearly evidenced by the key role he played in bringing up the Credit Society for the workers and in provision of housing to them. It would only be appropriate to acknowledge his active involvement in the productivity movement and the workers education programmes for the benefit of the industry as a whole.

When the Simpson Union was founded, this group had only two companies. Later, during my period as a Minister in charge of industries and labour in the State Government the number rose to 17. Today, I am informed, it has 29 companies and is on the march into newer areas. I am happy that the reputation of Simpsons for the quality of its product and its work-ethos has also kept pace with the rapid growth of its units.

Simpsons as you are all aware, began by manufacturing carriages and coaches of exquisite workmanship. Like its carriages, its reputation also travelled far and Simpson vehicles came to be displayed with great success at international exhibitions, winning orders from the prestigious undertakings in India and Europe.

At the turn of the century, Simpsons created a stir in Madras by running a vehicle that used a very different kind of horse power—India's first motor car. The Company has not looked back since then. It has gone on to popularise mechanical transport, introducing the concept of service stations with ready spares and able mechanics. Later Simpsons revolutionised road transportation in India, by introducing the first buses. These were followed by trucks for transport of goods, carriers for the military and India's earliest specialized motor ambulances.

Thanks to the far-sighted leadership of Sri Anantharamakrishnan, Simpson pioneered yet another field of industry. Realising the need for a fuel cheaper than petrol, Simpsons began the manufacture of a range of diesel engines in collaboration with Perkins of the UK. Simpsons have the proud record of having sold as many as 400,000 of its diesel engines so far. In short, the expansion and diversification of the Simpson Group Companies is truly commendable. The labour force at Simpsons, likewise, has risen from around 5000 in the early '50s to its present strength of nearly 20,000 for the Group as whole.

It is said that a politician looks at the next election and a statesman looks at the next generation. In that sense Jawaharlal Nehru was a statesman par excellence. It is indeed the greatest fortune of the country that we had such a far-seeing statesman as our Prime Minister for the first sixteen years of our Independence. He realised that the poverty of India could not be solved without rapid industrialisation of the country and replacing the anachronistic ideas and practices by a scientific temper. In India 70 per cent of its population lives on agriculture. Any amount of investments in agriculture cannot sustain this heavy load. Unless at least 20 per cent of its population is shifted from dependence on agriculture to industry, large, medium, small, rural and cottage and tertiary sectors like banking, transport, communications, etc. the contemplated reduction in the volume of those living below the subsistence level cannot be achieved. In developed countries the number of people living on agriculture has been drastically reduced. The examples of Japan and Germany are for everybody to see. We should, therefore, set a time-bound target for transferring people from agriculture to other employment as a part of planned development.

The post World War II era, when we became independent, was one of

acute shortages in the country. Shortage of food, materials, capital and entrepreneurship plagued our country. Not having participated in the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, we were technologically far behind the developed countries. It, therefore, became necessary for us to resort to rigid controls, regulations and rationing of materials in order to subserve the common good of the people at large.

A strict regimen of licensing of industries had to be resorted to. Though this had its own drawback, it cannot be denied that the licensing system led to diversification of industries. I recall that during the fifties entrepreneurs were willing to invest only in traditional industries like textiles and sugar. It is only the availability of licences for engineering, chemical and metallurgical industries that forced them into new areas. The commendable diversification of industries in the entire country is in no small measure due to the priorities set by planning in the country. Nor would the spectacular growth of the small-scale industries in India has been possible under a system of *laissez faire*. Reservation of items and equitable distribution of scarce materials have helped small industries to grow in the country. Today 30 per cent of the entire industrial production and 25 per cent of our direct exports come from the small-scale sector.

But what was good under certain conditions is not always good for all time. Thanks to the planned economy sedulously fostered during the last forty years, Indian economy has come out of the clutches of shortage. In the vastness and variety of our production, we have achieved remarkable progress. Our public and private sector industries have made phenomenal progress during the last several years. We now rank within the first fifteen industrialised countries of the world. The system of controls and regulations has become superfluous and even hurdles to the momentum of growth that had been generated in the economy. There appears to be no need for any regulation of any industry which does not require foreign exchange either for machinery and equipment or for raw materials. In such cases competition will become a self regulatory mechanism. The Government of India has been steadily removing restrictions and liberalising the industrial policy. It is now for the industry to take advantage of these measures and go forward with dynamism. In fact the ball is now in their court.

The private sector has shown remarkable strength and ability to handle multicore sophisticated projects which were beyond them a few decades ago. It is for them to take advantage of the buoyant capital market and play an effective role in their own and national advantage.

In this context, it will help accelerated industrial growth if the Government can formulate a set of parameters regarding foreign equity participation, royalty and other payments for technology transfers, etc. so that a lot of delay and uncertainty caused in fixing these issues in each case may be avoided.

Dramatic changes are overtaking the global economy. Countries that had adopted controlled system of production and distribution are changing over to market economy and renouncing the shackles. They have realized that both internal and external competition is necessary to improve efficiency and

reduce cost. Industrialists in India who have enjoyed a sheltered, sellers' market will have to gear themselves up to face the change in national and international trade. Our share in the international trade is negligible and hence every effort should be made to increase it if we have to survive as an industrial country. While our exports are expanding our imports bill is much larger and the trade gap is widening. A solemn responsibility, therefore, rests on the mercantile community of India to pay special attention to this grave national problem. I have every confidence that the nation will respond actively to the solution of the balance of payments crisis.

Sound industrial relations are a prerequisite for higher production and productivity. We have enacted a plethora of laws to safeguard the rights of labour. But they are not by themselves a panacea for all our problems. Laws cannot bring about harmony and understanding between the two vital sectors of production. Development of human relations on the basis of mutual respect and accommodation are absolutely essential for peace in industry.

A nation which is preparing itself for a quantum leap into the 21st century can ill afford to neglect the health and well-being of its industrial relations system, for, in the ultimate analysis, it is the men and women at work that produce the wealth, with science and technology functioning as supports to this effort. It has only been latterly recognised that development does not consist merely of an increase in the Gross National Product or per capita income. The currently accepted concept of development rejects the purely statistical view earlier held and recognises the importance in the development process of strategies and programmes of employment promotion, reduction of disparities in income, satisfaction of minimum needs and improvement of the quality of life. Planners in developing countries recognise that social objectives have an important place in overall development.

We are gathered here to felicitate a company that has steadily grown over the last 150 years and looks forward to a more rapid growth in the years ahead. I am only echoing the feelings of every one present here when I wish the Simpson Group companies continued prosperity in perpetuity.

Managing Our Enterprises

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the campus of the Centre for Organization Development, Hyderabad. I would like to thank Sri V. Krishnamurthy and others associated with the Centre for giving me an opportunity to see for myself the contribution being made by the Centre to the

development of managerial and organizational skills and to visit this beautiful new campus. I am sure the Centre's activities will profit from this new facility and its role will be further enriched.

I see before me here today some of the finest management experts in industrial, economic and technological organisations. They have displayed qualities of leadership and vision in borrowing techniques from abroad and building up on them so as to evolve sound management for ourselves. Your training programmes have helped develop a cadre of modern managers and maintain a perpetual stream of competent managers.

Classical economists regarded only land (raw materials), labour and capital as factors of production. Since production was largely through individual enterprise, the person who provided the capital was the chief executive in the production process. When enterprises expanded and the requirement of capital went far beyond the capacity of any single or small group of individuals, the corporate sector with shareholders spread all over the country and in some cases all over the world, replaced the earlier forms of production. This involved the emergence of professional managers of competence and integrity. Thus, management came to be recognised as the fourth factor of production and the concept of management development took shape. Management of the other three factors of production, namely, raw materials, labour and finance became a science in itself.

The United States and West Germany in the West and Singapore, Republic of Korea and Japan in the East have evolved management techniques into a science. The management of resources has been regarded in those societies as being critical for enterprise. In Japan, particularly, organization and management have been refined to a fine art.

As you are all aware, Japan has none of the natural resources basic for industrial development. It has no coal, no iron ore, no oil nor valuable minerals. It has to import all these raw materials from abroad. Yet, Japan today is in the forefront of industrial development because of its extraordinary skills both technical and managerial.

While functional areas of management such as production planning, inventory control, etc., can use identical or similar techniques in different organizations across national boundaries, organization structure and culture and policies and practices relating to people are culture bound. Doubtless, the German and Japanese traits of discipline and order have permeated their management practices.

India has been generally regarded as somewhat out of tune with the ethos of management. The so-called fatalistic other-worldliness of our people is believed to be unsuited to the forward-looking growth-oriented tenets of modern management. The late Dr Raj Krishna used to say that India can never do better than achieving 3.5 per cent growth in G.D.P. which he called the "Hindu rate of growth." The pessimism underlying the general perception of India's suitability to management techniques and Dr Raj Krishna's characterization are both in error. We have now established a growth rate of—over 5 per cent per annum in G.D.P. We have already doubled our per

capita growth rate—no mean achievement in strictly management terms.

The roots of this achievement lie in the conscious adoption of certain fundamental socio-economic goals during the national movement for freedom.

The Karachi Congress Resolution of 1931, you may be aware, declared that “political freedom must include real economic freedom for the starving millions”. That set the goals for our socio-economic development. Jawaharlal Nehru regarded planning as an instrument for achieving these goals. After freedom, the process of national planning was geared to the objectives of rapid growth, modernization of the economy, self-reliance and social justice. This process has brought about a veritable revolution—a revolution that has been absolutely peaceful.

Planning in India has been consciously based upon the principle of consultation. I recall today the many sessions of the National Development Council which we attended as representatives of the States. One of the fundamentals of sound management is the instilling of a sense of participation. The NDC achieved precisely that. The allocation of resources for the attainment of commonly accepted social and economic goals was done after obtaining the widest measure of consensus. We had, in that process, management organization at the macro-level.

As a result, food self-sufficiency has been attained, infrastructure facilities have been greatly expanded and strengthened, a diversified industrial structure established and special programmes undertaken to ensure wider diffusions of the benefits of development. These are all basic changes and, given the scale of the challenge, these achievements are truly impressive.

Since the mid-1970s there has been a noticeable quickening of the pace of growth. Textiles and food processing, which predominated in the comparatively undeveloped manufacturing sector in the 1950s, have now been overshadowed by metallurgy, machine-building, engineering, chemicals and petro-chemicals. Our much wider and diversified range of manufactures now incorporates a greater degree of technical sophistication and specialised skills.

But we have had to face in this process, the challenge of technological obsolescence, global competition and increasing protectionist trends in the developed countries. In short, the challenge has been to run in order to keep our place in this highly competitive world.

This is where the concept of management comes in. The ‘manager’ of our scarce resource and our skills has a crucial role in our war against poverty and backwardness. His role can, in fact, be likened to that of a war-time Garrison Commander. In the reflexes and initiative that he shows, in the perseverance that he displays and in the ultimate clarity of the objectives before him, depends the performance of the garrison. The manager is the giver of life, rhythm and purpose to the enterprise. If he fulfils his role, his unit cannot but prosper. If all managers fulfil their roles, you can imagine the exponential effect on our economy. Each unit’s efficient production enhances the economy’s productivity as a whole.

In our public sector undertakings as well as in the private sector, in our

large industrial houses as well as in the medium and small industrial units, it is the manager on the spot who must provide purposeful, effective and dynamic leadership. On him—or her—falls the responsibility of providing what has been termed “the optimum utilisation of available resources for the greater production of goods and services”. Our resources, as I have said earlier, are scarce. Their optimal utilisation, therefore, becomes all the more important.

The focus now is on productivity, growth and on the rate of increase in the efficiency of the factors of production. To achieve higher output from the given or lower input is indeed the test of a good management. As you are aware, developed countries have obtained between 40 and 60 per cent of their growth because of increase in productivity; and this increase in productivity has been brought about by the orchestration of industrial and entrepreneurial processes. This orchestration is the work, the challenge and the opportunity of the Indian manager.

One of the prime tasks of sound management and, therefore, one of the prime responsibilities of the manager is to formulate and apply company standards. In technology these standards will cover factors such as the input of energy per unit of output, the use of waste materials and the utilization of by-products. Underlying all these would be a sense. Which may be called a sixth sense, which tells the manager when and where to apply the correct inputs. The entire production cycle, in other words, beginning with procurement and going on through operation and maintenance to output is the manager's appropriate charge.

Professional managerial responsibility would require managers to have a sense of economy, a sense of quality, and right type of understanding for goals of his unit. The zero effect principle which has been operated in Japan so successfully is essentially a triumph of the Japanese manager. The Japanese manager took it upon himself to ensure the absence of any defects whatsoever in the production process. The result was that Japan has challenged the might of the Western world in the very products which were considered the monopoly of the West, namely, automobiles, electronics, ship building and steel. I have no doubt that the Indian manager who is gifted with an IQ no less than that of any other person or society in the world, can become a master of management. If they are quality and cost conscious and adhere to delivery schedules, then there is no reason why our productivity should not double itself in a very short time.

Productivity has one enemy and that is the status quo. The opposite is also true. Status quo has one enemy and that is productivity. In its technical aspects this would mean that all those who had been asked to manage our enterprises must show continuously improved organisation, better management, tighter inventory control, prudent handling of resources including—and especially—energy, and avoidance of waste.

In this process, the systematic, integrated and planned approach to enterprise effectiveness, known as Organization Development or “OD” has been of immense value. The concept of a grid in production, involving people and raw materials, of a team, and of organizational goal-setting and

implementation can make an immense difference to the effectiveness of a unit. Managers at different levels of the organizations' hierarchy must exercise total responsibility for all these. If they do, the team cannot but achieve organizational goals.

As one who started public work in the realm of labour, I would however like to say that there is one thing which managers can tend to overlook. It is most important that managers show an understanding of psychological and human factors. These factors can yield rich dividends in terms of improved motivation and better industrial relations. The renowned management expert Peter Drucker once put it very well: "Working satisfactorily with people is not part of a management job. It is the entire job. Do not think that it is the job of the personnel department."

I would like all managers to ponder over this statement. I believe that an imaginative programmes for workers' education and a sincere offer of participative opportunities can make all the difference in our business and industrial enterprise. A sense of job security, incremental earnings and personal benefits among workers correspond to a sense of investment security and increasing profits for the employers. I would like to take this opportunity to urge upon all managers the need to understand our work force and realise the role of high morale in securing the participation of employees towards organisational goals. Labour can play a very important role in optimising quality and minimising costs. Lack of efficiency is directly related to low productivity. Managerial deficits in the detection and treatment of such inefficiency has impeded our progress.

It should be essential for managers to know what, if anything, motivates his team. He must thereafter build motivating factors into the production process. Be this in the form of higher pay, or improved designations—or even a simple sign of commendation—motivation is something a manager can and must attend to. Many a strike would have been averted or resolved had the manager been also a motivator.

But there is something else which I would like all managers to attempt. And this 'something' is not available in textbooks on management. A manager, if he is to be above the average, should also be a visualizer. He should not just be a conductor of the orchestra, but a composer. There are many efficient conductors, but their names are not remembered. But the world will remember Zubin Mehta who not only 'manages' music but also 'makes' music. I would like managers to look beyond assembly lines to seeking new horizons in production. Managers must keep their eyes and minds open for creative ideas. They must, themselves, be motivated. They must, in other words, be creative and not just effective.

Managers have sometimes to face sudden and unforeseen situations. For instance the conflict in West Asia and its impact on oil prices and supplies are challenges facing them primarily. Those who are adroit enough to tackle the crisis pass the test of great managers. Their ability to improvise, adjust and adapt their production processes will be put to severe test. Again, global

factors like a Single Market by 1992 in Europe may pose problems for our exports to EEC which is today our largest export market.

It is not enough that the manager maintains the efficiency of production. He has to be alert, observant and continuously adaptive, perceiving every opportunity and learning from it.

In this context, I would like to make a reference to the role of the public sector. Developing countries suffer from inadequate capital for investment in developmental activities. They are unable to create surpluses for reinvestment in growth process. It, therefore, became necessary for the State to make heavy investments in basic industries like steel, transport and communications, power generation and so on. Time has proved that the massive investments have lifted a backward rural India to the position of one of the industrialised countries of the world. The very criticality of the public sector makes it necessary for its efficiency to be not just high but exemplary. Efficient management and effective use of resources in the public sector alone can make it sustain our development and growth. Surpluses from public sector undertakings must be created for expansion of the existing as well as creation of new ones.

It is gratifying that the Centre for Organization Development has built this campus with financial support from public and private sector companies. This kind of corporate support to educational institutions is valuable not only because it reduces dependence on the Government but it also creates an atmosphere, where institutions must ensure client acceptance of their work.

I once again compliment the Chairman and members of Board of Governors and the staff of this institution for the work they have done and extend my best wishes for its continuing success.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the campus of the Centre for Organization Development.

Enhancing Productivity

IT GIVES ME pleasure to be amongst members of the Punjab, Haryana and Delhi Chamber of Commerce and Industry on this happy occasion. The splendid building inaugurated today marks a high point in your dedicated service to the economy of the northern region. The PHD House Phase II will doubtless facilitate the Chamber's work and help it to serve society more efficaciously. May I extend my warm felicitations to all the distinguished entrepreneurs connected with this Chamber, on their acquiring this valuable asset.

I would also like to take this opportunity of extending my cordial greetings to all those gathered here, and especially to our brothers and sisters in Punjab, on the occasion of the birthday of Guru Nanak Devji. His teachings of harmony, discipline and brotherhood have made a great impact on the entire country.

The Chamber's membership represents the traditional enterprise of Punjab, Haryana and Delhi, the skills of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, the patience and perseverance of Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir. Not surprisingly, the Chamber has played a catalysing role in the economic development of the northern region.

Looking at the list of your Chamber's past Presidents, I can see that some doyens of the mercantile community have served on the Chamber—Sir Sobha Singh and Lala Shankar Lal who represented the determination of a capital-starved but resourceful Delhi of the '40s; S.Vaidyanatha Aiyer who represented the unity of our nation's economic grid; Dr Bharat Ram and others who symbolize a blend of the earlier generation of indomitable entrepreneurs with modern skills and perceptions. Quite naturally, with the quality of the guidance you have had, your Chamber has maintained a consistently high standard. This reflects both an adherence to certain norms as well as a receptivity and responsiveness to the dynamics of change.

Trade and industry are the two pillars of any economy. The role of business in society has been recognised from time immemorial. In ancient India traders had occupied a place of high eminence; our merchants were our ambassadors abroad. It is through them that, for the first time, we established contacts with the outside world. They acted as a window between us and the rest of the world.

Internally also, our mercantile community has exercised a determining influence over events. Its assistance to our freedom struggle, for instance, was significant. The support extended to the national movement by the late Ghanshyamdas Birla and Jamnalal Bajaj gave it added momentum. This support was not just in terms of financial assistance to the Congress. It took even more important shape of encouragement to the Swadeshi Movement. Our business community had in it men for whom self reliance was an article of faith. These pioneers had courage and foresight.

Some of the senior members of your Chamber will recall what was popularly called the 'Bombay Plan' of January 1944. This was drawn up, interestingly enough, not by economic theorists but by doyens of private enterprise including J.R.D. Tata, Ghanshyamdas Birla, Purushotamdas Thakurdas, Lala Shri Ram and Kasturbhai Lalbhai. Gandhiji's concept of Trusteeship and Nehru's vision of a Mixed Economy began, from that time onwards, to acquire tangible shape.

It was clear to the leaders of our national movement and to enlightened captains of industry that, in order to meet the aspirations of our people, the role of the State would need to be supplemented and complemented by private entrepreneurship. Mixed Economy was envisaged not as an inert physical mixture of the public and private sectors but a complex organism in

which public interest and private initiative would interact at several levels. Nor was the concept of mixed economy a static formulation whose features, once defined, remained the same ever thereafter.

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 gave this dynamic concept, operational meaning. This Resolution, as you are all aware, classified industries into three categories having regard to the part which the State would play in each of them.

Even in the “basic” and “high priority” industries which were to be the responsibility of the State, the Resolution specifically kept the door open for existing privately owned units to expand. It consciously provided for the possibility of the State securing the co-operation of private enterprise in the establishment of new units whenever the national interests so required. And, of course, those industries which were neither in the Schedule A or B, were expected to be developed through the initiative and enterprise of the private sector.

The basic concepts underlying this three-fold division of industries have been vindicated. In the Schedule A industries, the Government has been able to establish a strong foundation. Steel production which was about a million tonnes in 1950–51 has increased more than eight-fold. The production of coal has risen spectacularly with a doubling of production taking place since the industry was nationalized. No less remarkable has been the record in the domestic production of crude oil. While forging ahead in these critical areas, the State has maintained the broad division of responsibility *vis-a-vis* the private sector. There has been no major nationalisation in manufacturing industries except for oil and coal, for which there were strong techno-economic reasons. Existing private sector units in some of the Schedule A industries have been allowed to expand.

There have been equally impressive achievements in the Schedule B industries where both the public and private sectors have made a contribution to the production of basic goods. The State and private sector have played a complementary role in a number of these industries such as fertilisers, machine tools, aluminium, drugs, road and sea transport.

There has been a spectacular growth in the private sector in Schedule C industries.

The fruits of the mixed economy have, therefore, been significant. There has been a substantial expansion of the industrial base over the last three decades, resulting in our ability now to produce a very broad range of industrial products. Substantial self-reliance has been achieved in basic and capital goods industries which now account for as much as one half of the total value-added in manufacturing. Indigenous capacities have been established to the point of virtual self-sufficiency so that further expansion in various sectors such as mining, irrigation, power, transport and communications can be based primarily on indigenous equipment. We can thus derive a legitimate sense of satisfaction from the fact that the basic structure of the mixed economy envisioned by the founding fathers, especially Jawaharlal Nehru, has stood the test of time.

In recent years, a number of steps have been taken towards liberalisation. It has come to be realized that the regulations which are necessary in times of scarcity are not only unnecessary but can be harmful at other times, and must be, prudently, done away with.

The industrial sector has, over the last four years, responded well to the stimuli provided by the policy of liberalization. It has recorded impressive growth rates of 7-8 per cent. This momentum must be assiduously maintained. The several policy measures adopted in the last few years should increase the competitive strength of our industries. While the initial responses of certain industries has been encouraging, a great deal still remains to be done. I would suggest to the PHD Chamber that it initiates active measures for a rapid transformation of Indian industry to achieve internationally competitive quality and price. It is important to point out that a nation's economy cannot be considered strong and reliable unless and until its industrial production is able to match world quality and standards. In the past we have protected our industries from foreign competition. But now a stage has come when our industries would start losing quality and efficiency unless they are exposed to foreign competition. This would require rapid technological upgradation and enhanced levels of productivity. It is only then that our prices will come closer to the international levels.

Your primary responsibility however, lies in enhanced productivity. Nobody will grudge our commerce being profit-oriented as long as profit-maximisation is achieved through cost minimisation and operational efficiency. Unfortunately, all these years higher profit has been synonymous with higher prices which has gone against the principle of maximisation of social welfare. Industrialists should, therefore, endeavour to increase their profits by reducing cost through effecting economies and improving efficiency. This is in your own interest and also in the interest of the country.

I am aware, at the same time, of the many constraints that our entrepreneurs are working under. Our economy, as indeed that of the world, is passing through a turbulent period. Beginning with the second oil price shock, leading to stagflation, international trade has been slowing down. Several developing countries have been caught in a vicious debt trap.

The latest Gulf conflict and the sharp rise in petroleum prices are now said to constitute the third oil shock. The balance of payments position, always precarious, is now under tremendous strain. Prices of crude oil and other petroleum products, which we import, have sky-rocketed. The increase in oil prices will impose an additional burden of Rs. 5,000 crore on our country in foreign exchange in the next 12 months, if the average price of crude oil is \$25 per barrel.

Inflation, deceleration of production, civil strife and perpetual commotion, uncontrollable expansion in non-plan expenditure are threatening to engulf the country. Unless the entire nation pulls its weight together, it cannot face the challenges. It is time that we sank all differences and worked in unison in a spirit of harmony to build a rich and resplendent Mother India.

You have my best wishes for your continued success and usefulness. With

these words, I once again thank the PHD Chamber for giving me an opportunity to join you on this auspicious occasion. I wish all of you the best of luck.

Engineering Industry to the Fore

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you again after two years and to inaugurate the Ninth Indian Engineering Trade Fair. The Confederation of Engineering Industry has been doing yeoman service to industry in general and the engineering industry in particular in regularly organising these trade fairs. I have had the privilege of participating in the Engineering Trade Fairs in 1985, 1987 and 1989 and I can say with confidence that the Engineering Trade Fair is growing in size, scale and coverage. I am sure the Engineering Trade Fair 1991 will meet with equal success and that the participation of industries from abroad will further enhance the value of these fairs to the mutual benefit of the participants.

Industry and Commerce are the two pillars of development, be it a developed or developing country. The primacy which developed countries enjoy in the world is entirely due to their rapid industrialization based on advanced technologies and their competitive advantage in marketing them abroad. The economic giants, Germany and Japan, exemplify the importance of rapid industrialization in the world.

Having participated in the industrial and scientific revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, these countries had developed technological skills which even the Second World War could not erase. Unfortunately, India had to start on her industrial and technological revolution only after its Independence in 1947. It had to compete in the race for markets with developed countries with a handicap of two centuries. Despite this, India has made impressive progress in science and technology in the last four decades and is able to compete in the world market in a number of items. This is a tribute to our entrepreneurs and scientists, no less than to our skilled craftsmen and labour. But our achievements are wholly inadequate for our needs. Seventy-five per cent of the Indian population lives on agriculture; and agriculture, despite all the scientific and technological inputs, cannot sustain this large percentage of our population. A large section of our society has to be transferred to industrial and tertiary employment so that it may be lifted above the poverty-line and enjoy a better quality of life. I am happy to note that the engineering industry is fully alive to this need.

Rapid changes in technology, organisation and methods of production are taking place all over the world. New labour-saving devices, better material management, improved precision and quality and more attractive finish are

being constantly and continuously introduced with the result that it is very hard to keep abreast of the innovations. On account of these vast changes in recent years, the trade fair has to shoulder a greater responsibility than in the past. It has to serve as a positive instrument for upgradation of technology and for promotion of international co-operation and trade.

I am glad to find that the range of industries participating in this trade fair is even more extensive than before. You now not only have the traditional engineering and capital goods industries but have also brought in electronics, telecommunications, software and services. This is a very happy development of which all of you can be justly proud.

Over the next few years Indian Industry will have to give continuing and increasing attention to two facets of its working both of which are interconnected quality and export. These two endeavours will have considerable bearing on the performance of Indian industry and, consequently, that of the national economy. I am glad that this is already receiving the attention of the Confederation and that you have organised yourself to provide services in these areas.

However, we have much more to do and have a very long way to go. I would, therefore, urge you to give the highest priority to the improvement of quality in our products and processes and in the building up of exports to earn extremely valuable and vital foreign exchange.

I am happy to note the presence of nearly 500 companies from several countries in this Trade Fair. I am told this is a record participation, reflecting their keen interest in working with Indian industry and in doing business with their Indian counterparts. The Technology Transfer Show in this Trade Fair is a useful instrument for bringing together many people and enterprises. Society progresses only with exchange of ideas and experiences and this Fair offers an excellent opportunity for interaction between industries and industrialists of several countries. It is gratifying that during the course of the Fair foreign companies would be presenting the advanced technologies that they have to offer to the Indian industry. The usefulness of such technology transfers and mutually beneficial partnerships between Indian and foreign companies can hardly be overstressed.

I am particularly happy that the United Kingdom is participating in the 'Technology Transfer Show' under the banner 'Partners in Progress' as the partner country.

Indo-UK trade and economic relations have shown an encouraging trend towards expansion as well as diversification in recent years. The UK continues to be one of the larger investors in India. Besides Indian exports have gone up, and the trade deficit has also come down. We have crossed the two billion pounds mark in our two-way trade with the UK. A great deal, of course, remains to be done, in terms of raising the level of trade and addressing ourselves to the potentials offered by the European market. Bound, as we are, by historical ties, enjoying the advantage of common use of English, having a rich tradition of close contact between the business community in the two countries, we should now look forward to,

upgrading our co-operation in a significant way. British participation as a partner country at the Fair offers an excellent opportunity to give a new impetus to the enlargement of the scope of collaboration and identification of areas of complementarity in the industrial structure.

You are aware that the USA in 1989, Canada in 1987 and Italy in 1985 had helped us a great deal as partner countries in our fairs. I understand that the United Kingdom has put on a varied display of the advanced technologies available from that country and I am confident that this large participation of 150 British enterprises will pave the way for enhanced co-operation between India and the UK. May I compliment the UK Government and the UK industry for putting up an impressive presentation in this Ninth Indian Engineering Trade Fair. I am glad that a distinguished team from the UK is here and I convey my felicitations to it. I am sure that the Indo-UK conference and seminars which are planned during the Trade Fair will throw further light on specific areas of co-operation and strengthen our trade relations.

I note that, for the first time, the Confederation of Engineering Industry has introduced a new concept of 'Partner State' to the Ninth Indian Engineering Trade Fair. 'Maharashtra' has been awarded the 'Partner State' status in order to project the strengths, capabilities and opportunities which Maharashtra offers. Another new feature, which to my mind is of great importance is the participation of over 150 Indian small-scale companies alongside some of the giants of Indian industry. I would like to compliment the Confederation of Engineering Industry for taking this initiative to promote and encourage small-scale and ancilliary industry. This would go a long way in dispersing industries and encouraging small entrepreneurs to join the industrial stream. By providing larger employment on a smaller investment, the small industries will help India mitigate the scourge of unemployment in our country.

We are meeting today when the world is in the grip of a grave crisis. The war in West Asia offers a threat to the orderly and peaceful progress of humanity towards higher goals of peace, prosperity and friendship between nations. Any disruption of even flow of trade will have dire consequences to the developing countries and escalation of oil prices will damage the present structure of industries. I hope the international community will find a solution through the civilised method of dialogue and discussions.

With these words I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Ninth Indian Engineering Trade Fair and wishing it all success.

Towards Free Market Economy

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you on the occasion of your Annual General Meeting. I addressed your organisation some years ago in 1985 in a different capacity. Much has happened since then. Many important changes have taken place in our economic structure and also in our external environment. Our policies too have undergone changes in response to these and related developments.

FICCI is the premier organisation of its kind in India. The Federation represents over 100,000 Business Houses which employ over one crore of people in various capacities. Your organisation is truly national since your membership is spread over the entire length and breadth of the country and represents every section of economic activity. As an apex body of Indian trade and industry, your organisation reflects the diverse aspects of India's multifaceted industrial personality. Each of you individually and all of you collectively have a great deal to contribute to the direction the economy will take in the years ahead.

I am very happy to have this opportunity to share with you my personal thoughts on our economic situation, on the challenges facing us and the opportunities that lie ahead.

Your meeting is taking place at a time when the nation is facing a grave economic crisis, particularly with regard to the balance of payments position. I do not wish to go into the reasons for this crisis. Nor do I propose to ponder over the question as to why, after forty years of planning for self-reliance, we should once again find ourselves in an intolerable external financial predicament. However, what is abundantly clear to me is that the present crisis is symptomatic of a deeper failure and a more fundamental problem. This is—to put it very simply—our inability to live within our means, both externally and domestically.

In the domestic sphere, we have a persistent fiscal crisis. Current expenditures are far in excess of our current revenues, and the gap is covered by borrowings from the banking sector as well as the household sector. This has led to the emergence of a domestic fiscal problem and a domestic debt problem.

Externally also, we find the same scenario being repeated. We export much less than we import. The difference is once again met by external borrowings, often at a high cost. As growth in exports is not sufficient to meet our import requirements, we need to borrow more and more in order to service old debts as well as to cover the recurring trade deficit.

Paradoxically this financial crisis is occurring at a time when, to use the economists' phrase, the "real" economy has done quite well. Thanks to good

monsoons and the gallant efforts of our farmers, agricultural production has shown robust growth. The resilience developed by Indian agriculture was also apparent at the time of the last drought in 1987-88. Despite the failure of the monsoon, there was only a small decline in agricultural production and we were able to meet our food requirements with minimal imports. With the increase in food production in the recent years, food reserves have now become sizeable.

On the industrial front, the Seventh Plan period saw for the first time after two decades, an impressive growth rate of 8.5 per cent in industry. As a result of the improved performance in agriculture and industry, India's economy grew at an average rate of 5.5 per cent in the eighties which is much higher than the earlier years. What is equally impressive is that our performance during this period was much better than that of most other developing countries. Our progress in social sectors, such as health, education and literacy has also been impressive although much remains to be done.

Thus, we now confront a somewhat contradictory situation. The productive and real sectors seem to be doing well. But at the same time, we have externally, a financial crisis and, domestically, a fiscal crisis of an unprecedented magnitude.

The challenge before the nation today is to get out of the financial crisis while maintaining the gains in respect of production and growth.

In considering the options available to us, it seems to me that we must avoid the temptation of rejecting the past. The development strategy chosen by India, soon after Independence, reflected the historical realities and experiences of that time.

Let me share with you some interesting statistics that I came across recently. It is not widely known that, before the beginning of the British rule, India's share of the world's manufacturing output was 17.6 per cent as against UK's share of only 9.5 per cent and the United State's share of 2.4 per cent. By 1900, however, India's share had dwindled to 1.7 per cent as against UK's share of 18.5 per cent, and the United State's share of 23.6 per cent.

It is also worth remembering that, according to economic historians, the growth rate registered by India between 1871 and 1946 (before Independence) was only 1.5 per cent per annum. There was virtually no increase in per capita income over this long period.

It is, therefore, no surprise that our political movement for freedom gave a great deal of importance to achieving economic independence, self-reliance, and that Jawaharlal Nehru laid stress on industrialization as a means of overcoming the causes of structural backwardness. The post-Independence development strategy also yielded good results for quite some time as growth rates accelerated, and we were able to build up a diversified industrial base.

It is necessary to remember these facts so that we can consider the future strategy and policy options in the correct perspective.

Our present problems, it seems to me, are largely due to our inability to respond adequately to the emerging realities and developments in trade, technology, and political economy. In respect of trade, we have not been able

to adapt our structure sufficiently to seize the opportunity provided by expansion in world exports, including those from developing countries. In respect of technology, we have failed to keep pace with dramatic changes that have taken place in productivity, processes, and product development. In the area of political economy, we have not responded fast enough to the changing patterns of our polity and to the inherent limitations of administrative and State intervention in a complex federal society. As early as 1966, I had pleaded before the National Development Council for a review of the schedule to the Industries Development and Regulation Act with a view to eliminating many items for which controls were no longer necessary. But the mood in those days was for more controls and more regulations and the MRTP Act followed.

The recent changes in our fiscal trade and industrial policies have to be viewed against this background. A radical change in our outlook and in our style of management has been initiated. This is only a beginning, and it seems to me that we would have to persevere and work even harder to bring about a transformation of our economy in order to respond more effectively to the present and future challenges.

I also believe that you, as captains of industry and commerce, have a vital role to play in changing our industrial culture and in laying the foundation for a more prosperous and self-reliant economy.

There are three important areas where the response of the industry will be particularly crucial in determining the success of our efforts to overcome the present problems: Firstly, it is of utmost importance that we bring about a climate of austerity and higher savings in the economy. Austerity has a wider meaning than the practice of simplicity in our daily lives, although that too is no less important. It has to do with all-round efforts by individuals, the community and the nation to cut all waste in the use of resources and to save as much as feasible for purposes of reinvestment. A society as poor as ours cannot grow unless we reinvest a large part of what we earn and produce more. The crisis of resources that we see today is the crisis of inadequacy and inappropriate use of our national savings. This situation has to be reversed.

Secondly, industry can play a vital role in increasing productivity and conserving the use of scarce resources particularly energy resources. We have become excessively dependent on imports of oil and oil products. Our vulnerability to external shocks was demonstrated once again during the Gulf crisis. Even a cursory scrutiny and audit of energy use in our industries will show that a vast scope exists for reducing the consumption of energy per unit of output. This is a challenge, that I feel, associations like yours must take up. It will be useful to prepare industry-wise targets of energy savings, and to monitor actual progress in achieving these targets. The concerted effort for energy conservation could also give a fillip to other measures for increasing productivity and industrial efficiency. It is a truism that our costs are high and our productivity is low. Yet, all over the world, Indians have shown their great capacity to work hard with low margins of profits, and to produce more with limited resources. A programme needs to be drawn up by all your

members to improve productivity and to reduce costs so that our economy can become globally competitive.

Thirdly, priority must be accorded, particularly at the present time, to exports. The other two areas mentioned by me, namely, higher savings and higher productivity, will contribute to the export effort. In addition, however, it is necessary for all units in all industries to explore ways and means of increasing the share of exports in their total output. The minimum objective should be to meet import requirements of each industry through its own exports. The changes that have recently been brought about in the trade policy should contribute to the achievement of this objective. If every industrial unit in the country accepts exports as a national goal, I have no doubt that within a period of two to three years we can overcome the balance of payments problem once and for all. The overall environment is now conducive to the making of a major thrust towards the export market, and I hope you will seize this opportunity.

Breath-taking changes are occurring in parts of the world that had once shorn allegiance to the doctrine of controlled economy. Political and economic regimentation is yielding place to the market economy which was hitherto a term of abuse with them. The far-reaching changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are bound to send shock waves to our own economy. The barter and rupee trade instrument which had been of considerable assistance to us in expanding trade with these areas, may no longer be available to us. We may have to change our pattern of external trade in consonance with the changes that are occurring in those countries. It is necessary to launch a study in depth betimes, rather than face the situation after it has overtaken us. The initiative must be taken by the business community and by the Government, jointly.

Unfortunately, the necessary rapport between industry and Government has been lacking in the past. Earlier FICCI meetings had seen a tirade by the one against the other and in the bargain the essential co-operation had become a casualty. I would like to refer to the excellent interaction between Japanese Government and the industry as an example for us to emulate. The climate today is favourable for such co-operation. The Government is less dogmatic about monopolies and large houses and the industry more reconciled to an efficient public sector.

Even as a totally controlled and regimented economy now stands outdated, a totally free market economy exists nowhere except in text books. Import quotas and restrictions abound in countries which swear by the market economy. It is, therefore, necessary for us to strike the right balance and adopt policy-measures that suit our social milieu. It should not be forgotten that while in the welfare economy, the State takes care of the weaker sections, in the market economy the devil takes the hindmost. We cannot afford to abandon one-third of our population to such a fate and thereby run the risk of social convulsions, the consequences of which are difficult to foresee.

The Finance Minister has struck such a balance and the Government have

shed the shackles of the past. The new industrial and foreign trade policies are designed to keep in step with the times. No longer can industry and trade indulge in excuses for non-performance of their responsibilities to the nation.

I have every confidence that FICCI will rise to the occasion and help steer the economy towards the path of rapid progress. I wish the Federation and all its members, every success.

Excellence—the Watchword of Industry

I AM HAPPY to participate in this meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ASSOCHAM) on the occasion of its completing more than seven decades of useful service to the growth and development of Indian economy. During these seven decades, the ASSOCHAM has established itself as one of the premier apex chambers of commerce and industry, representing a wide and varied segment of our industry. It can look back with pride and satisfaction on its contribution to the expansion of Indian industry. It has played a constructive role in the articulation of the views of industry on major policy issues and has provided a valuable interface between business and industry and government. As the President of ASSOCHAM has pointed out in his welcome address, the ASSOCHAM has also not lost sight of the social responsibility of the corporate sector and has taken an active interest in supporting social welfare programmes of vital national interest. I am, therefore, happy to be here with you to celebrate this occasion.

The theme chosen by ASSOCHAM for the current year, namely, “Globalisation Imperatives—Excellence, Efficiency and Exports” is indeed an apt theme for consideration because of the momentous changes taking place both in the world economy as well as our own. The reforms initiated by the Government on the industrial and trade front have opened up new vistas of opportunities and challenges for our industry. These reforms are designed to make our industry more productive, more efficient and more competitive, and enable it to gain its rightful place in the international market. Our country does not lack either natural resources or technological, managerial and entrepreneurial skills. And yet, we have been able to secure about only one half of one per cent of the global trade of nearly \$3,500 billion. Industry and trade have now been freed from unnecessary and unproductive regulations and controls. The partial convertibility of the rupee on the trade account, easier availability of foreign exchange, the new export and import policy, and the various incentives for exports have opened up vast opportunities for

exports. I call upon our industry to seize these opportunities and to ensure the full realization of the export potential of the country.

Mere balancing of exports and imports is not great virtue. A country can easily cut on its imports to the level of its exports and claim credit for achieving balance of trade. It implies that such country goes without the facilities and amenities available to the people of other countries and that the quality of life of its people is kept low. By exchange of goods and services through international trade the quality of life increases globally and, therefore, the endeavour should be to earn enough foreign exchange to pay for import of goods that go to enrich life. In an expanding economy, both imports and exports will have to grow, but we should pay for our imports only through increased exports and not through borrowings from abroad. The success of the economic reforms depends on the dedication and commitment of our industry to exports, and I hope our industry will not be found wanting in this respect in the coming years.

It is hardly necessary for me to draw attention to the fact that the international market is becoming fiercely competitive. The margins on exports are fast eroding and the market is unrelenting except for the most efficient producer. Excellence in quality and design standards is increasingly becoming the touchstone for survival in the market. I would urge the Indian industry to pay utmost attention to quality and create an image for quality and reliability for our products in the international market.

The urge for quality improvement must permeate the entire industry. You cannot have higher quality products for export alone without corresponding improvements in the quality of goods meant for internal consumption. Unfortunately, the sheltered markets enjoyed by Indian industry during the past decades had led to neglect of quality as well as cost consciousness and consequent loss of export markets. The regime of controls and regulations was introduced at the time of the post World War shortages of raw materials, machinery and equipment and capital resources. With easing of the shortages during four decades of planned economy there appears to be no reason for continuing controls and regulations. It is time that the Industries Development and Regulation Act is repealed and only hazardous occupations regulated through appropriate Factory Acts.

The Government is alive to the need for helping industry to grow without hindrances. In today's context, the Government is no longer a regulator with a set of don'ts but is an active promoter of industrial and economic activity through well-designed industrial, trade, monetary and fiscal policies.

For instance, areas reserved for public sector have been drastically pruned and the Government is considering disinvestment of its holdings in public sector undertakings. Investment controls exercised on large-scale business houses through the MRTP Act have been removed. Foreign investment and foreign technology agreements are welcomed and encouraged.

The response of industry and the economy to the liberalization measures is very encouraging. From 24 July 1991, the day the new policy was announced, till 31 January 1992, there has been a spectacular increase in the number of

Letters of Intent issued. The number of foreign technology agreements approved during the same period is 505 showing an increase of 150 per cent over the corresponding period of the previous year. The foreign investment approvals stand at 255, involving an investment of Rs. 686 crore. The process of our onward march towards globalization of our production and trade has to be maintained if we have to emerge and take our rightful place in the comity of nations.

The Budget for 1992–93 also contains various proposals which will have a very beneficial impact on our industrial sector. Industry has been released from almost all import licensing and imports of essential raw materials, intermediate goods, components and other inputs can now be made expeditiously at the market exchange rate. Industry can, therefore, plan in a more stable, predictable and expeditious manner. A significant beginning has also been made in bringing down Indian tariffs to levels comparable to our competitors. The maximum import duty rates have already been reduced to 110 per cent.

I am glad to know of ASSOCHAM's involvement on major issues of social concern. The social responsibility of the corporate sector must extend far beyond the bottomline of their profit and loss statements. Every company should no doubt take care of the interests of its immediate clientele like the shareholders, the employees, the suppliers, the consumers and the like. But every company also owes a responsibility to the society at large. In my address to Parliament this year, I had occasion to touch upon some of the major social issues of larger national concern such as the population growth, women's education and rural uplift. There is vast scope for the corporate sector providing support to the tackling of such issues. It is gratifying to note that many enlightened managements in industry are giving increasing attention to issues of critical importance to the country, and I hope this tendency will intensify in the coming years.

In conclusion, may I say that institutions like ASSOCHAM have a valuable role to play not only in fostering the growth and development of our trade and industry, but also in the larger economic and social development of the country. ASSOCHAM has already seen nearly 72 years of activity. A great many things have changed during this period, but ASSOCHAM has kept pace with these changes and has contributed its mite to nation building activities. I am sure it will continue to grow in strength and stature in the years to come and I extend my good wishes to ASSOCHAM on this occasion.

III
HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Facing a Social Malady

I AM VERY happy to be associated with the scheme of the International Gandhi Awards for leprosy relief. The Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation instituted this International Gandhi Award for outstanding work in leprosy relief. It is given once in two years to internationally acclaimed leprosy workers who have made significant contributions towards amelioration of the sufferings of leprosy patients.

The fact that the selection of the awardees is done by an international panel of judges, headed by the Vice-President of India reflects the importance attached to this facet of medicare by the Government and people of India. It was my privilege, as the then Vice-President, to head the panel when it was first set up. I am delighted that outstanding men and women from different parts of the world and from India have continued to be identified under this scheme, for recognition.

I would like to congratulate the winners of this year's awards—Professor Lechat and Dr Wardekar on their well-deserved selection. Professor Lechat has devoted his entire life to research in the epidemiological aspects of leprosy and is known the world over for his contribution in this field. His work in Africa has been considered as a model and his writings and teachings have been the guiding spirit behind many scientists in this field. Dr Wardekar is one of our veteran workers in this field. Leaving his practice in Bombay he plunged into this field with great dedication. His painstaking efforts in drawing out a well balanced programme of detection, education of society and treatment of leprosy patients has been applauded not only in our country but the world over. By receiving the awards today they join the select group of persons, from different parts of the world, whose work has been distinguished and, if I may say so, transformative. It has changed the outlook for leprosy patients, both individually, in terms of specific human beings, and collectively, in terms of the problems of leprosy relief.

Like Jesus Christ and Gautam Buddha before him, Mahatma Gandhi showed mankind the path of compassion. "Generations to come" said Albert Einstein, "will scarce believe that such a one as he ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth". This formidable reputation of Gandhiji's rests not just on the fact that he won for India her Independence through non-violence, but on the fact that through precept and practice, he taught fellow humans the importance of understanding the other man's suffering.

It is, however, important to remember that his work in leprosy reflected not only his compassionate spirit but also his extraordinarily scientific approach to the problem. He did not think he was doing leprosy patients any favour by his services. Rather, he regarded the opportunity as a privilege. To

Gandhiji leprosy work was not merely offering medical relief but the transformation of attitude of people towards the unfortunate patients by voluntary dedication of service to this noble cause.

When Mahatmaji passed away it was found necessary to give concrete shape to his abiding interest in leprosy work which was close to his heart. The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi undertook this work.

The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi's leprosy wing, later called Kushta Nivaran Samiti, was converted into the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation in 1951, when Dr Wardekar became its first Director. His mission in leprosy work continued to be performed by different agencies and different individuals all over the country.

Work in the field of leprosy was taken up by the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation on a voluntary basis. It undertook survey, education and treatment units which enabled leprosy patients to remain at home and be treated, and set up referral hospitals and control units. GMLF, as the World Health Organization puts it, is now the only institution in the world which possesses case records of thousands of leprosy patients, a rich material for research in this area.

With forty years of work behind it, the GMLF has been able to reduce to a large extent the incidence of leprosy through the control units run by it. This is a matter of immense satisfaction. The efforts of the GMLF have also helped establish contacts with other like-minded organisations in the world and to the pooling of efforts and programmes for detection, treatment, prevention and rehabilitation of the affected persons. This has also led to a wholesome change in prevailing attitudes to leprosy.

Leprosy continues to be, essentially, a human problem. Shrouded in fear, patients of leprosy go through the trauma of rejection and ostracism by society. This leads many sufferers of leprosy to conceal their malady and thereby deny themselves the benefits of timely treatment.

It is estimated that, in India, over 430 million people live in leprosy endemic districts with a prevalence rate of five cases or more per 1000 people. A substantial population thus remains exposed to a greater level of risk of leprosy infection.

But the hopeful signs are unmistakable. The present decade has witnessed a major expansion of leprosy control work in India quantitatively and qualitatively with the help of Multi Drug Treatment (MDT). Rapid cure is being brought to the patients by providing continuous treatment. At present 112 out of 196 endemic districts in the country are under Multi Drug Treatment.

It is also gratifying to note that the Government is planning to bring all the endemic districts under MDT in a phased manner by the year 1992. However, for the complete success of MDT a redoubling of efforts towards health education among patients, their families and the community will be essential.

As I said a few moments ago, leprosy has long been associated with social stigma arising out of fear. This undermines control measures. Unless people

are helped to understand that leprosy is curable and is contagious only in certain circumstances, its control will remain difficult.

This understanding can be achieved only by generating community awareness through health education of the patients, their families and the community. Health education should, therefore, aim at producing in public, patients and their families a reasoned attitude towards leprosy that neither exaggerates nor minimises the dangers of the disease. A change in the attitude of the society, including the medical profession, should be brought about whereby patients afflicted with leprosy are treated just as patients suffering from any other communicable disease, and they are helped to come forward voluntarily and take treatment while remaining in jobs. The award winners of today have played a notable role in bringing about such a change.

I am happy we are honouring these two distinguished scientists for their contribution in the field of leprosy relief. I am hopeful that other workers in this field will emulate the devotion and the purposeful approach of these scientists. May I take this opportunity to extend my best wishes to the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation for continuing fulfilment through service.

I will conclude with the confidence that the example of Professor Lechat and Dr Wardekar will inspire others to strive to eradicate leprosy from this country by AD 2000.

Give Them Opportunity, Not Charity

IT GIVES ME pleasure to present the National Awards for the welfare of the handicapped and the National Technology Award.

Let me congratulate all the award winners, be they employees, or employers, placement officers, voluntary workers and organisations on their excellent performance and valuable contribution made in this field. I also congratulate the winners of this year's Technology Award for their technical inventions for the welfare of the handicapped. All the awardees richly deserve our appreciation and encouragement.

This is an occasion when we can take stock of the work done by us—as a society for the welfare of our disabled brothers and sisters. I would like to stress here that our handicapped fellow-citizens are, really, members of the same joint family of Indians to which we are privileged to belong. And even as a family takes special care of its disabled members, so must the country look upon the care of the handicapped as its special responsibility.

The measures taken in India for providing succour to disabled persons are

quite impressive. As you are aware, that one of the Directive Principles of State Policy is "the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people". The principles specify that special care shall also be taken to promote the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people. Our welfare programmes for the handicapped, to start with, were confined to a few basic curative and rehabilitative services. Over the years, a positive orientation has replaced the curative and custodial approach. Welfare programmes are now oriented towards providing preventive, developmental and rehabilitative services to the disabled, the aged, addicts and to the maladjusted.

The number of disabled people in the country has been estimated to be around 12 million by the National Sample Survey Organisation.

The Ministry of Welfare is in charge of programmes for the early detection and treatment, education, training and rehabilitation of disabled persons, namely, visually impaired, speech and hearing handicapped, orthopaedically handicapped, mentally handicapped, spastics and leprosy-cured persons. These programmes are worthy of praise from all those interested in the welfare of the handicapped not only in India but also in the rest of the world.

We are proud of the four national institutes, one for each category of the disabled, which have been set up for education, training, vocational guidance, counselling, rehabilitation, and research in various areas of disability, namely, the National Institute for the Visually Handicapped at Dehra Dun, the National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped at Bombay, the National Institute for the Orthopaedically Handicapped at Calcutta and the National Institute for the Mentally Handicapped at Hyderabad. It is gratifying that through the special drive launched by the Government for filling the backlogged vacancies for the handicapped, a large number of handicapped persons have obtained employment. A good beginning has thus been made.

I am sure that the Central Government as also the State Governments and private agencies will sustain the momentum so that handicapped persons continue to get their due share as enunciated in the policy laid down by the Government.

Awareness about the potential of the handicapped as useful workers is one of the key factors in sensitising employers to provide more opportunities to the handicapped persons. I am happy to know that the Ministry of Welfare has from time to time been organising exhibitions with the objective of promoting awareness among the general public about the potential capabilities of handicapped as workers. I feel that such awareness campaigns should also be organised by State Governments and voluntary organisations. Although it has been the endeavour of the Government to give employment to this deprived section of the society, I, however, believe that the maximum potential of employment for the handicapped lies with the self-employment sector. All facilities should be provided to the disabled persons to set up self-employment ventures to make them self-reliant. The handicapped persons in rural areas can particularly benefit under the scheme like

Integrated Rural Development Programme, if special attention is paid towards this aspect.

Our first priority should be to prevent disabilities and our efforts in this direction need considerable improvement. Of significance in this direction is the programme for the immunization of all infants against polio and such diseases. Childhood diseases are a major cause of physical disabilities and a programme for their prevention and for supplementary nutrition covering all under-privileged children of the younger age group becomes a desideratum. Our programme of pre-natal and maternity care should be broad-based to cover all pregnant mothers in order to reduce disabilities arising out of pre-natal and post-natal causes. Women have to play a leading role in this regard and expectant mothers and nursing mothers should be given the advantage of counsel and nutrition.

As you are all aware, these National Awards were instituted to encourage not only the Government and public sectors but also private sector employers. I am happy to find that a large number of private sector organisations are extremely sympathetic to the cause of the handicapped and have employed them in sufficient number. However, I have no doubt that the scope for the private sector employment for this disadvantaged and deprived section of our population, will be met in even greater degree in the future.

Before I conclude I would like to say a word about the social attitude of the community at large. There is an erroneous impression that handicapped persons cannot function as efficiently as normal persons. Our aim should be to integrate the handicapped persons in society and make them part and parcel of the social fabric enjoying equal facilities with normal persons. The attitude of society towards such unfortunate persons is still governed by outmoded perceptions. Unless society sheds its prejudices against them it would be unrealistic to expect employers to be sympathetic and understanding towards the handicapped. The mass media can play a pivotal role in this and help in the removal of prejudices to a great extent. I would be happy to see greater utilization of TV and other mass media in this field to inform and educate the public and modify social attitudes.

I congratulate the Welfare Ministry on organising this function. I am confident that it will continue to serve this sector with ever increasing success. May I once again congratulate the recipients of this coveted honour on their excellent work and hope it will spur others to follow the example.

Towards a Better Doctor-Patient Relationship

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I participate in the 23rd Annual Convocation of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS). I would like to thank the authorities of this landmark Institution for inviting me to be the Chief Guest at this pleasant function.

May I extend my felicitations to those who are receiving their parchments of graduation today. I offer them my best wishes for a most satisfying career of service to the afflicted. The distinguished professional environment which you have known here in this Institute is bound to make a qualitative difference in your professional work. The All India Institute of Medical Sciences has appropriately been regarded as a beacon-light in the realm of medical education. It stands for excellence and the public will quite naturally look for the hallmark of quality in your work.

Established in the year 1956 through an Act of Parliament, this autonomous Institute was the result of the far-sighted vision of some of the Founders of Modern India. It gives me particular pleasure to remember on this occasion our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who wanted Institutes like this to become areas of excellence and travel far into the fascinating realms of research and development. I also recall today Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, our first Union Health Minister, who piloted this project with a sense of missionary zeal. I have learnt with great happiness that at the First Convocation of this Institute, my distinguished predecessor, Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was the Chief Guest. The Institute could not have commenced its work under better auspices.

I would also like to mention today the pioneering work of this Institute's first Director Dr B.B. Dikshit and its first Dean, Prof. K.L. Wig. Likewise, the work of Prof. L.P. Agrawal in the setting up of the Dr Rajendra Prasad Centre for Ophthalmic Science has been notable. The Institute's other departments like neurology and cardiology also enjoy high reputation. All those young men and women who have had the benefit of acquiring skills in these areas at the AIIMS are fortunate to have had the benefit of working in so excellent a milieu.

The essential purpose of convoking an assembly at the end of an academic course is to invest graduating students with degrees that signify their educational attainments. The occasion, therefore, rounds off a period of preparation. But another objective of the Convocation is to inform the students that they are going out of the world of preparation and into the world of action. Hence, it has been the traditional practice for those who are invited to address the Convocation, to offer some of their thoughts and beliefs to the

neo-graduates of the day. I would, therefore, like to take this opportunity to share some views with you on subjects of relevant concern.

The word 'doctor' in its Latinate roots means 'teacher'. The first and original task of the doctor is, therefore, to teach. In the context of medicare, teaching involves explaining the procedures of health care to people so as to prevent and control morbidity. Our ancient medical geniuses Charaka and Susruta were teachers first and practitioners of medicine only thereafter. Ayurveda is, therefore, rightly regarded as a Veda, or a code of teachings, not a pharmacopea. The world of medicine is, hence, a world of teaching and learning. Not of 'pedagogy' in the strict sense but a dissemination, of ideas and perceptions, for the greater good of humankind.

Medicine registers progress, essentially through the important process of research. Each generation has seen diseases which had been regarded as incurable, coming under salutary check. Similarly, painstaking research has placed in our hands the transformational techniques of immunization and preventive care against common diseases. There are today medicines which can easily overcome ailments which had been regarded incurable in the past. Immunological and surgical techniques witness new ground being broken every day, while the science of transplantation radically changes the face of modern medical treatment. Facilities for leading a disease-free life are now so plentifully available in the world that diseases such as malaria, small-pox and leprosy stand virtually eliminated in many countries. This wholesome development has taken place as a result of the wise interaction between the physician and the patient, between medicine and society.

And yet nature has a way of tantalising man. Even as we gain control over several ailments, we see new challenges confronting us. The incidence of AIDS, for instance, has shaken human society the world over. It has posed challenges to the medical fraternity which could not have been even conceived of some years ago. Likewise, the incidence of cancer affecting almost every part of the human frame, constitutes another formidable challenge. The complex pattern of mental disorders is yet another area of concern, allied as it is with the distressing phenomenon of drug abuse.

The medical fraternity across the globe has geared itself to facing the challenges of AIDS, cancer and some other diseases of recent origin, with a sense of creative concern. However, it is being increasingly recognised that the response of medicine will not be complete without the simultaneous promotion of public awareness on the social and legal aspects of morbidity. In the case of AIDS it is essential that while our society should not be alarmed, it should be alerted to the details of the risks involved, procedures for blood testing and the precautions needed to prevent transmission of the diseases in health care settings. Medical response to AIDS would also have to include the role that nurses have to play since special skills are needed among the nursing personnel to prevent the disease in hospitals, clinics and community settings. It would be equally important to protect the nurses and other health care practitioners.

Similarly, in the case of cancer, much more needs to be done to intensify

research on the causes of the disease and the sharing of the finds of such research with the public.

Another area where the medical fraternity needs to work in close concert with society is the area of cardiac ailments. Here again, the education of the public on the nature of cardiac disease with a view to their preventing and the handling of such cases, assumes importance. In this city of Delhi, I understand, two persons die every hour as a result of heart attacks. We notice that there is an increasing incidence of heart attacks among young adults, especially in the cities. The community of doctors must share with the public its perceptions as to how heart ailments can be prevented in a greater measure.

All of you who have had the advantage of studying in this premier Institution, have had an intimate knowledge of the amazing progress that has taken place in the field of diagnosis and treatment. The marvellous 'scan' technique now enables deeply embedded and hitherto unrevealed organs of the human body to be examined. Sophisticated instruments now enable the science of medicine to conduct a large number of critical tests on the human body and perform the most sophisticated surgery non-invasively. All of you, young graduates, have mastered the science and art of using these precision instruments. But I would like to stress that it would be necessary for you to use an instrument which can never become obsolete, namely, the instrument of doctor-patient and doctor-society identification.

The British introduced allopathic medicine in our country so as to provide medical treatment to their war-wounded soldiers. Hazards of life in India's hot summers led them to set up institutions which would specialise in the study and treatment of ailments having their origin in our climate. The School of Tropical Medicine in Calcutta, King Institute at Guindy in Madras, King George Hospital in Lucknow are among the institutions which arose from exigencies of circumstance.

The medical requirements of the vast masses of our country fell outside colonisers' scheme of thinking. The foreign power in India chose not to respond to the needs of the masses. So much so the Health Survey and Survey and Development Committee found that the general death rate in 'British India' was 22.4, the infant mortality rate was 162 per thousand and the expectation of life at birth was 26.91 for males and 26.56 for females. Nearly half the total number of deaths were among children under 10 years of age and in this age group one-half of the mortality took place within the first year of life. Although vaccination had been in vogue for nearly eighty years, India continued to be a reservoir of small-pox. The Committee came to the conclusion that the low state of public health, as reflected in the high mortality and morbidity (particularly among mothers and children), was preventible and was mainly due to the absence of environmental hygiene, adequate nutrition, adequate preventive and curative health services and intelligent co-operation from the people themselves. At that point of time the curative and preventive health services were totally inadequate. There was one doctor for 6,300, one nurse for 43,000, one health visitor for 4,00,000 and

one midwife for 60,000 people. It was only after the attainment of Independence that we were able to take medicine, as it were, into the homes of our people. Primary health centres, maternity wards and such other facilities came to be set up at district and taluk levels. As a result of this, the death rate has come down to 10.2 per thousand and life expectancy has risen to 60.

This is an answer which we cite to those who seek to deride our country's achievements. Whenever foreigners receive this piece of information about life-expectancy, they are amazed and quickly change their attitude. Life expectancy cannot be increased without preventive and curative medical programmes, better sanitation and hygiene and appropriate and adequate food for the people. One has only to compare the conditions forty years ago to realise the astonishing improvements in medicare that has overtaken the country. But health care is an ocean where the oarsmen cannot rest. Continuous, unremitting attention is called for. In this task, the role of medical education is of crucial importance.

The type of education imparted to the undergraduate medical students has largely been hospital-oriented bearing little relevance to the gigantic health problems faced by the people.

The preventive aspect has to be kept uppermost in mind and we have to make our people aware of several other factors like sanitation, hygiene, diet and so on. A proper knowledge of health imperatives has to be inculcated amongst our people, with particular reference to communicable diseases as well as non-communicable diseases.

As Dr Alexis Comfort has pointed out: "Medicine is not the diagnosis and cure of disease but the diagnosis and treatment of patient who addresses himself to a physician."

A doctor must understand the patient before he understands the disease. Likewise, he must understand society before he begins to tackle the challenges of public health. He cannot function in an ivory tower.

Perhaps, the most challenging task will be the tackling of the population problem. Approximately 23 million babies are born every year. With attrition rate by death being less than one third of this we are likely to reach the figure of one billion by the year 2,000. Our country with its meagre resources cannot face the problems of the 21st century without better health care for this enormous population. Thus, an important role of medical education will be to train students adequately to address this problem. It is hoped that the future medicalman and woman, with an enhanced understanding of this subject, will effectively contribute to the national programme of containing the family size. In other words the 'teacher' in the 'doctor' has to activate himself or herself as never before.

There is a great need for a general physician who can render preventive, promotive and curative health care to an individual, family and community. He will, therefore, have to understand his role and responsibility as a member of the health team engaged in the delivery of health services at any level of administrative hierarchy. He will need to participate in national health

programme by educating the patient and his relatives, families and communities in matters related to health and disease so that the patient, his family, and the community can co-operate in health management and in the implementation of health programmes in the country. Necessarily, he will need to be familiar with health statistics, health information system, population dynamics and methods to control fertility in the country. Medical education will, in other words, has to inculcate in medical students the skills of communication no less than of medication.

Certain other issues pertaining to medical education also require attention. One of these is whether the semester system is suitable or not. Another issue is at what stage should specialisation start. The question of syllabus has also to be gone into. Medical care requires today inputs not only from doctors and nurses but also from an engineer, a chemist or a physicist, in fact from a whole range of skills and disciplines, for diagnosis and treatment of the diseases.

Finally, our country needs inexpensive medicare for its people. I would like this objective to be always kept in mind by this Institute.

I would like to once again thank the All India Institute of Medical Sciences for giving me an opportunity to be with all of you this evening. I am confident that those who are graduating today will contribute significantly to the sum total of human happiness in whatever area they may be called upon to serve. I wish them all success.

A Healing Touch

IT IS WITH a sense of personal satisfaction that I participate, once again, in this important, biennial function. This is the fourth time that I associate myself with this noble activity. I would like to thank Dr Shanker Dayal Sharma, Chairman of the Jury for the International Gandhi Memorial Awards and the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation for giving me an opportunity to continue this cherished association.

It was on this day, forty four years ago, that Mahatma Gandhi stepped into eternity. The pang of separation was, for all of us, utterly unbearable. And yet, to any one who had studied the saga of his life, it was no surprise that Gandhiji should have gone in the manner he did—striding briskly towards his goal of healing India's deep pains.

Gandhiji's interest in leprosy relief, as you are all aware, began on the day when in South Africa a leprosy patient, in great physical and mental agony, knocked at his door. In letting him in, Gandhiji gave admittance and

recognition to much more than a single individual. He placed leprosy relief on the agenda of social action. Thanks to that event, leprosy relief became a major part of the constructive programmes which were to be taken up on a wide scale in India, under Gandhiji's inspiration.

Leprosy in India, as elsewhere, had been traditionally regarded as a curse. It had been shunned as a scourge and relegated to the dark shadows of superstition, ostracism and neglect. This attitude was not only selfish and inhuman; it was also short-sighted. Leprosy thrives under conditions of neglect. It can be tackled effectively only by the methodology of scientific identification, treatment and cure. And that methodology must be given the widest possible application.

We now know that with a creative compassion combined with a scientific application of remedial methods, leprosy can be stopped in its tracks. Today, research in the medical control of leprosy and initiatives for the rehabilitation of leprosy patients have virtually revolutionised the life of the leprosy patients.

The Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation has instituted this scheme of awards to extend recognition to those who have contributed to medical research and to the setting up of rehabilitation services in leprosy work. Those engaged in voluntary endeavour do not seek awards. For them, their work is its own reward. And yet, society owes them a deep debt of gratitude and so when we honour them, we do so for our sake, not theirs. Furthermore, in honouring them we encourage others to follow the example of the pace-setters. And there is no gainsaying the fact that their example needs to be followed and replicated all over the world.

The blight of leprosy does not recognise geographical boundaries. And so it is only right that the Gandhi Memorial Awards should be international in character, acknowledging leprosy relief work wherever it is carried on and encouraging such initiatives all over the world. The selection, this year, of the late Cardinal Leger of Canada and Dato Lawrence of Malaysia has given me—and all of us—great satisfaction. Cardinal Leger strove for over 35 years to eradicate leprosy in Africa. He left his own country, Canada, in a manner reminiscent of the immortal Father Damien who left European shores to work amongst the leprosy-afflicted in far away Molokoi. Cardinal Leger alleviated the suffering of the people in several leprosy affected villages on the African Continent and later established a fund for the benefit of leprosy work in Africa. It is a matter of the deepest satisfaction to us that news of his having been selected for this award reached Cardinal Leger before death snatched him from our midst. There can be no doubt that Cardinal Leger will be a living inspiration to all those engaged in leprosy work the world over.

Dato Lawrence, a Barrister-at-Law by profession has shown that leprosy work is not a purely medical or other worldly occupation. People engaged in the so-called 'normal' vocations can also turn to the alleviation of leprosy-affected persons. By founding the Malaysia Leprosy Relief Association, Dato Lawrence has helped rehabilitate hundreds of patients. More significantly, by vigorous public education and by the force of his example, Dato Lawrence

has also helped change community attitudes towards leprosy. This is where the crucial challenge to leprosy workers lies.

The Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh and other voluntary organisations engaged in leprosy relief in India have worked with unflagging zeal to rid society of some of its old misconceptions. Individuals like Mother Teresa, Baba Amte, the late Dr Dharmendra and the late Prof. T.N. Jagadisan have also done a great deal to dispel the popular misconception that every case of leprosy is infectious and demonstrated that by timely detection and treatment, leprosy could be cured.

The number of leprosy patients in India was, until not long ago, above four million—a very large number. But the incidence is now clearly under control. The Multi-Drug Therapy or MDT as it is popularly called, has been found to be very effective and the World Health Organization reports that the estimated number of leprosy patients in India has now significantly and dramatically come down to 2.3 million cases.

If the Government and voluntary agencies carry forward the anti-leprosy campaign with determination, there is no reason why leprosy cannot be eliminated by AD 2000.

I once again extend my felicitations to the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation for all it has done to eliminate leprosy from the globe. Let us proceed apace towards the day when the only place accorded to leprosy will be in books on medical history.

Ayurveda—A Science of Life

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the International Convention on Ayurveda organised by the All India Ayurvedic Congress. This is indeed a happy occasion when eminent scholars of Ayurveda from all over the world are meeting to share their expertise and experience on this great heritage of India. We believe that Ayurveda is the science of life. *Ayu* means life and *veda* means science. The Vedas themselves especially the *Rigveda* and *Atharvaveda*, the oldest classics of the world date back between 1500 and 1000 BC. Ayurveda is said to have been developed as a separate science of life between 1000 and 500 BC in greater India. Ancient Ayurvedic classics like *Charaka Samhita* and *Sushruta Samhita* were written around 5th century BC. These classics were themselves the results of scientific experiments made by *Ayurvedacharyas* for thousands of years.

The blessing of *Jivem-Shardah Shatam*—May you live 100 years implies that man's life span is normally 100 years and it is possible to live that long

with the help of the science of Ayurveda. Ayurveda believes that life is a synergy of several factors, mental, physical and spiritual. The system is developed on the principles of *Tridosha* which have stood the test of time and proved efficient over centuries. An appropriate balance of *Tridosha* gives health and imbalance leads to disease.

There are references in Buddhist literature about Jeevaka who was a great physician, surgeon and paediatrician during the time of Lord Buddha. He studied Ayurveda at Takshila University for seven years under Atreya.

Ayurveda flourished during the period of the great emperor Ashoka in 3rd century BC. He established the famous Arogyavihar at Pataliputra, ruins of which can be seen even today. He also worked on medicinal plants. It is mentioned on the rock edict of emperor Ashoka at Girnar that 'Medicinal herbs useful for men and those for animals, wherever they do not exist have been caused to be imported and planted.' Likewise roots and fruits wherever they did not exist were caused to be imported and planted by emperor Ashoka.

There were arrangements for regular institutional training of Ayurveda in ancient universities of Takshila and Nalanda between 5th century BC and 12th century AD. Students from all over the world specially from Central, Middle and South-East Asia have studied Ayurveda in these ancient universities during those days. In addition to theoretical teaching, there were arrangements for practical training in clinical subjects and hospitals were also attached to these training institutions. Arrangements for specialisation also existed in various disciplines like general medicine, surgery, ophthalmology, Gynaecology, etc. The surgical teaching of *Sushruta Samhita* in respect of plastic surgery and treatment of fistula by medicated thread etc. are accepted even today by the experts of modern medicine. There were inter-relation also among the oriental systems of medicine of those days. After 12th century AD the system declined due to various reasons which came in the way of further development and research in the system. However, teaching of Ayurveda continued even in smaller form not only in India but in the neighbouring countries also.

You are all aware that in addition to India, Ayurvedic system of medicine is popular in Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. The existence of the system is also seen in Pakistan, Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Bhutan, etc. I am told that the system is becoming popular in Latin American and African countries also. The Government of Mauritius has recognised Ayurvedic system of Medicine by an Act of their Parliament during 1989. Even Ayurvedic Society or groups for study of Ayurveda exist in countries like Britain, France, the USA and Japan.

There are other oriental systems of medicine in existence in the world like Chinese system of medicine, Unani System of Medicine, Tibetan medicine, etc. There are many similarities between these systems at the level of principles as well as practice. It would be desirable to encourage more interaction among these systems. Useful knowledge of these systems, can be synthesised to form ultimately an alternative universally applicable system.

The development of Ayurveda gained considerable tempo after Independence. The Indian National Congress resolved in 1920 that Ayurvedic system of medicine should be recognised as a national system of medicine. Many colleges of Ayurveda were started during this period and the curriculum and syllabus for Ayurvedic training was also strengthened. The Government of India after Independence has taken interest in the revival of these systems and specific Plan allocation for development of Ayurveda and other systems of Indian medicine has been made. While the allocation during the First Five Year Plan was only Rs. 40 lakh, it was increased to Rs. 129 crore during the Seventh Five Year Plan.

The Central Council of Indian Medicine was constituted by an Act of Parliament in 1971 to regulate practice of Ayurveda, Siddha and Unani systems of medicine and also to prescribe curricula—syllabi and minimum standards of education for these systems. There are about 100 Ayurvedic colleges in this country affiliated to 43 universities imparting five-and-a-half year uniform graduate course in Ayurveda. About 4000 Ayurvedic graduates are coming out every year from these colleges. Facilities for higher education in Ayurveda is also available at Postgraduate Institutions of Ayurveda at Jam Nagar and Varanasi and the National Institute of Ayurveda at Jaipur. About 30 departments of various Ayurvedic Colleges have also been upgraded for postgraduate training in Ayurveda. About 200 postgraduates are completing training in various disciplines of Ayurveda every year.

In my view the teachers of Ayurveda and members of the Central Council of Indian Medicine, responsible for regulating education of Ayurveda should do some serious thinking on the future pattern of Ayurvedic graduate and postgraduate education in order to ensure that they inspire confidence in the system. Unlike western systems, Ayurveda and other indigenous systems of medicine do not rely on mechanical devices for diagnosis of a disease. The intuition which senior practitioners display largely depends on their past experience of dealing with same or similar cases. These experiences are not recorded and coded properly with the result that one does not gain from the experience of another. A methodology needs to be devised for recording of unique experience and for exchange of such knowledge with others so that expertise may be built on the collective wisdom of eminent people.

Medical colleges need to address themselves to the needs of foreign students. They must create conducive conditions so that India is able to share its heritage with those who wish to learn and benefit.

We also need to address ourselves to the problem of making Ayurvedic literature more comprehensible by defining the nature and scope of the various ingredients used in the medicine and by laying down Pharmacopial standards.

One great advantage of Ayurveda and other oriental systems of medicine is that it has no toxic side or after-effects in any of these medicines. The reactions from modern systems of medicine have been so severe that other diseases are caused by drugs intended to cure one disease. It is said that

during the last half century man has come into contact with more toxic substances than he has done in the previous four hundred years.

People are finding Ayurvedic system of medicine safe from this angle. According to *Charaka Samhita*, any medicine which produces side-effects, in addition to curing the disease, is not a perfect medicine. Perfect medicines are only those which cure the disease and also do not produce any side-effects. Many mineral and metallic origin drugs and some of the poisonous substances like arsenic etc. are used in Ayurveda as drugs but these are used only after purification and oxidation processes so that reactionary and toxic effects of these drugs are removed. This method was invented after great research. We have to ensure that in future also no Ayurvedic medicine produces any side-effects.

Most of the drugs of these systems are based on plant origin. About 1500 medicinal plants are commonly used in these systems. The present source of raw material for Pharmaceutical industry for Indian systems of medicine and Homoeopathy is mainly from the forests, known as minor forest products. A good number of drugs of medicinal value are also collected from wild sources in the plains, fields and wastelands. A few medicinal plants are also cultivated in various parts of the country. Many of these plants are not available in required quantity, a drawback which calls for serious thoughts and remedial measures. It would be desirable that concerned ministries and organisations like Ministry of Environment and Forest, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Research Council of Indian Medicine, Central Institute for Medicinal and Aromatic plants, etc. work in a co-ordinated manner to produce the required quantity of medicinal plants not only for this country but also to meet the requirement of the world.

I am happy to note that present day Ayurvedic medicines manufacturers give the ingredients and quantities used in the preparation either on the container or as material information. Active research should be conducted to analyse the effect of each of these ingredients on the human body and also the effect of varying quantities used. There is no limit to human ingenuity; it can go on expanding the knowledge without any limit. May be such research in indigenous systems could lead to finding remedies for many of the diseases like cancer, AIDS, etc. for the cure of which the world today is still groping in the dark.

I am sure that the galaxy of talent represented in the Convention will help find answers to many of our ills. I have great pleasure in inaugurating this International Convention and wishing them all success.

IV
EDUCATION, ART AND CULTURE

The Glorious History of Buddhism in India

I AM INDEED very happy to accept the invitation of His Holiness Shamarpa Rimpoche to inaugurate the Karmapa International Buddhist Institute. The inauguration of this Institute for Buddhist Studies is yet another link in the millennial and glorious history of Buddhism in India. This history began more than 2500 years ago, when the Enlightened One began to preach his message of compassion, of detachment and of ultimate liberation from human suffering.

The Buddha taught us that the path to *nirvana* can be achieved only through liberation from self-indulgence, from greed, from envy and from such other evils as are the root cause of all human suffering. The four noble truths enunciated by the Sakya Muni as well as the Eightfold Path or the Middle Way, avoiding both extremes of indulgence and excessive self mortification, were a precious legacy he bequeathed to mankind. They are as relevant in the world of today as they were many centuries ago. This is because all great truths are eternal, ageless and ever-relevant.

The greatest truth which has shone through the life of the Buddha is the truth of ahimsa, not as a form of ideological pacifism, rather as a creative and vital energy for individual and collective happiness.

I am reminded today of a parable relating to the Buddha. Once, after his Enlightenment, accompanied by a group of monks the Buddha came to his own home town, Kapilavatsu, as part of his peregrinations. The princess Yasodhara and their son Rahul, were to see him for the first time in Buddhahood. As the ochre-robed monks, with the Buddha, entered their street, young Rahul asked his mother: "Who among them is my father?", Yasodhara identified him with the words: "He, my son, who is walking like a lion".

What does the parable reveal? Ahimsa is not meek submission but it is the controlled strength and dignity of the King of the Forest. I do not think it is an accident that the great Buddhist emperor Asoka, chose for his regal motif, what is now known as the Sarnath Lion Capital. Coming down the centuries, we find that Gandhiji repeatedly emphasized that non-violence was not for the weak or the cowardly but for those who could dare to stand up and be counted. And Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, consciously selected the same Lion Capital as our State Emblem. If Gandhiji revived ahimsa as a national ethos, Panditji gave it expression in the international idiom of comprehensive disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

As we stand under the shadow of new threats as well as on the threshold of

a new dawn in human relations, the teachings of the Buddha seem that much closer to us. We, therefore, turn to Him and to His Word with new eagerness and new hope.

It becomes all the more important for us to help turn the minds of our fellow human beings towards the message of the Buddha. And so the establishment of this International Buddhist Institute in New Delhi assumes a special significance. It also reinforces the old bonds between India and the Kargyu Order. The message of the Enlightened One since the ages has spread from India to the rest of the world. The great Buddhist Emperors of India, Ashoka and Harshavardhana, sent many learned Buddhist scholars to the neighbouring countries as well as to distant shores, to Japan, Mongolia, Korea, and Thailand among others.

It was the great saint Padma Sambhava, or Guru Rimpoche as he is known in Bhutan and Tibet, who took Buddhism to those lands in the 7th century AD. A little later, the system of meditative teachings, known as the Mahamudra, was developed by the great Indian Siddha Purusha, Tilopa. The Mahamudra teachings were passed on through the classical Gurukula system and also through the successive Gyalwa Karmapas. In our own times, it was the 16th Gyalwa Karmapa who came from Tibet to Sikkim and founded the great Rumtek Monastery in 1962. It was he who started the chain of Centres which have done most valuable work in providing a training ground in Buddhist tradition and culture for hundreds and thousands of our fellow men and women. They have, thereby, served the cause of world peace.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that at a time when armaments, and arsenals of weaponry are filling the face of the earth, these Centres have matched them with the message of the Buddha. Unlike the magazines of violence, which are invariably concealed and subterranean, the Centres are on the surface, white and radiant, for everyone to see. They remind us that peace is not only a necessary condition but that it is the natural condition of man.

After having prepared nations on the earth for fratricidal destruction, they are now seeking to extend the diabolism to outer space. And within societies, that ogre called terrorism is making a mockery of modern civilization. Never before has the need for ahimsa been more urgent than it is today.

Nations, organizations and individuals committed to peace will have to work with strength and faith. They will have to be seen and heard, in every nook and corner of the world. They will have to work with faith and confidence that Dharma will ultimately prevail.

We have to move away from the traditional concepts of competition, of victory and defeat. Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the UN General Assembly in 1960 said: "In ages long past a great son of India, the Buddha said, that the only real victory was one in which all were equally victorious and there was defeat for no one. In the world today that is the only practical victory; any other way will lead to disaster."

We must avert that disaster. Societies which are linked by the Buddhist philosophy of peace and ahimsa can play a decisive role.

It is in the fitness of things that the Karmapa International Buddhist Institute is being inaugurated in the capital of our great land, which was the cradle of Buddhism twenty-five centuries ago. I have no doubt that this institute will work diligently to spread the Word of the Buddha and will thus become yet another instrument for moral and spiritual advancement of the people of the world.

May your efforts to bring enlightenment, peace and happiness to all mankind be crowned with success.

The True Liberator

I FEEL PRIVILEGED to be here on this important occasion when meritorious teachers from different parts of the country are present to receive the National Awards for their dedicated and distinguished service to the noble cause of education. I take this opportunity to congratulate them as they have been selected for the National Awards after a rigorous multilevel screening. These rewards have come to them as they have demonstrated a very high academic efficiency, an abiding and genuine interest and love for children. They have thus made significant contributions in building a sound base for a bright future for this great nation. I am sure the public recognition of these teachers would serve as a source of further motivation not only to them but also to the entire teaching community to approach their tasks with continued devotion and commitment.

As we are all aware, the nation celebrates 5th September every year as the Teachers' Day. This day marks the birth anniversary of Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, a distinguished scholar, a great philosopher, writer, statesman and above all a great teacher of our times. While paying his tribute to Dr Radhakrishnan, Jawaharlal Nehru once said: "He has served his country in many capacities but above all, he is a great teacher. From him all of us have learnt much and will continue to learn. It is India's peculiar privilege to have a great philosopher, a great educationist and great humanist as her President." This day provides us an opportunity to pay our homage to him and make a fresh resolve to work for the realisation of the goals in the case of education, for which he worked zealously throughout his life.

Our educationists, educational planners and administrators should urgently address themselves to bringing about qualitative improvement in education, for on this depends the future of the nation. A number of steps will have to be initiated to reorient the content and process of education to the emerging concerns in education. Conscious efforts will need to be made to promote

values like common cultural heritage; egalitarianism, democracy and secularism, equality of sexes, protection of the environment; removal of social barriers; and inculcation of scientific temper. Among other things, this will require preparation of improved curricula and instructional materials, provision of essential facilities in schools such as libraries, laboratories, playgrounds, audio-visual equipment, etc. and bringing about examination reform. Above all, we shall require teachers of proven competence and utmost devotion and commitment to their profession. This will depend, to a large extent, on the personal qualities of those who take to the teaching career, their educational attainments, improvements in the methods of their professional training and the place and respect they hope to enjoy in the society. We reiterate our faith in the teacher for he/she is the key-figure in the implementation of any scheme formulated for educational reconstruction. It has been said that no nation can rise above the level of its teachers.

No doubt, the society and the educational system expects a lot from the teacher, who, in return, also expects a place of honour in the society, a reasonably decent standard of living, conducive working conditions in schools, removal of administrative bottlenecks, and fair chances of advancement in their professional career. During the past few years, the Central and State Governments have taken some concrete measures to improve the social and economic status of teachers and to provide minimum essential academic and physical facilities. But, much more needs to be done towards improving the working conditions in schools situated in rural and remote areas. I hope innovative and resourceful teachers like you will devise ways and means to achieve maximum results within the constraints of available resources and prevailing working conditions.

A major dimension of educational reform is to make education a forceful tool for the cultivation of social and moral values. In our plural society, education should foster universal and eternal values oriented towards the unity and integration of our people and the fight against obscurantism, religious fanaticism, violence, superstition, fatalism, exploitation and injustice. Development of values among children involves a complex network of environmental factors—home, peer group, community, the media and society at large. Concerned with the development of the total person, value education calls into play all aspects of personality development—knowing, feeling and doing. Educational institutions cannot be expected to develop values simply by adding a course or two to their curriculum. What needs to be done is to invest the learner with a capacity to rationalise events and situations without blind acceptance of dogmas, to develop an equipoise without surrendering to sudden spurts of emotion, to sacrifice the selfish personal interests for the cause of the country and people at large, and above all to promote peace and harmony among all our fellowmen. In short, the child should become a better person. This calls for teachers who are noble and dedicated to the uplift of the nation.

It is generally believed that modern developments in communication technology will soon herald an educational future characterized by more

openness and greater freedom from the rigidities of the formal learning system. Although such a trend can be discerned already, one finds it difficult to make a forecast on the exact shape our school education will take in the future. May be for many more years our children will continue to sit in classrooms, taught by teachers through 'chalk and talk', doing their homework and taking the usual examinations. Or, may be in the coming years, we will be able to develop all the needed educational hardware and software and ground support to usher in the 'learning society'.

There are high expectations from media and educational technology in spreading education especially among the hitherto unreached deprived sections of the society. It is also envisaged to employ educational technology in the spread of useful information, training and retraining of teachers, sharpening awareness of art and culture and inculcation of values both through the formal and non-formal approaches to education.

Judicious use of communication aids and media can free the teacher from drudgery and could lead to a far more productive use of the teacher's time. It will also make the teaching-learning process more lively and interesting. The developments in communication technology and information have generated new patterns and modes of learning and this influences the very approach to curriculum transaction and a new role-expectation of teachers.

The role of the teacher rests on our perception of education, its goals, means and methods and its overall relationship with the development process. Teachers' roles have kept changing throughout history responding to the prevailing views about the nature of the learner and the learning process, the concept of school, the purpose of education, its relation to individual and social goals. Contemporary compulsions—sociocultural, political, economic and pedagogical—have led to a review and reorientation of our educational goals and priorities and it is inevitable that the new educational intentions and aspirations should give shape to the teachers' role.

I envisage that the future teacher will be a competent, professional, skilled teacher like he always has been expected to be, an effective communicator, a designer and user of learning resources, a learning facilitator and an active participant in community life. Teacher training programmes henceforth should, therefore, strive to incorporate these new role perceptions and expectations.

I once again offer my hearty greetings to the award winning teachers. I also offer my heartiest greetings and good wishes to the entire teaching community.

An Ageless Poet

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I Join this distinguished gathering to commemorate one of the greatest poets and dramatists that the world has produced: Mahakavi Kalidasa.

Over thirty years ago, our first President the late Dr Rajendra Prasad initiated this important national festival. The very next year our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru also visited Ujjain and offered his tribute to the memory of this great poet. And ever since, the Kalidas Samaroha has become a national event, a festival, for rendering our homage to one of the great founts of our culture. It, therefore, gives me deep satisfaction to partake in this national tradition today.

I would also like to say how glad I am to be in this historic city of Ujjain. Celebrated in legend, literature and lore, it has a special association with the Mahakavi. Tradition has linked Ujjayini with King Vikramaditya, who founded the Vikram era. Tradition has also linked the immortal Kalidasa with the same monarch. Ujjain has thus had a unique and cherished affiliation with the author of the *Vikramorvasiyam*. May I take this opportunity to extend my cordial felicitations to all the residents of Ujjain.

By honouring Kalidasa in this recurring Samaroha, the people and the Government of Madhya Pradesh have enabled India to honour one of the most cherished legacies of our culture and civilization. Nobody knows for certain, even today, the exact date and place of birth of this great poet. For all his unique eloquence Kalidasa has remained silent about himself. This is typical of the attitude of our sages and artists to temporal matters. Nurturing a wider human sympathy, they forget their own selves. While some place Kalidasa 800 years before Christ, others assign him to the Gupta period. Some have described him as a Kashmiri poet, while those at the other end of the country in Kerala, have maintained he belongs to them. There are those who maintain Kalidasa belonged to Bengal, while Bihar and Orissa too claim affinity with the poet. And so, while we may leave discussions on chronology and provenance to specialists, the fact remains that Kalidasa has been and is widely read and loved in every part of India. Kalidasa is truly ageless and timeless in his triumph.

In Kalidasa, *sahitya* reached its pinnacle. His seven major compositions: *Kumara Sambhava*, *Raghuvamsa*, *Ritusamhara*, *Meghadutam*, *Malavikaagni-mitram*, *Vikramorvasiyam*, and *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* have entered our national consciousness and become part of our collective heritage. They rank next only in their impact to the all-time epics: the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*.

Prof. Ryder, the well-known Kalidasa scholar from America has said: "Poetical fluency is not rare; intellectual grasp is not very uncommon; but the



With a Japanese delegation, New Delhi, 22 August 1990



With the ANC leader, Dr Nelson Mandela, New Delhi, 15 October 1990



*Administering the oath of office of the Prime Minister
to Shri Chandra Shekhar, New Delhi, 10 November 1990*



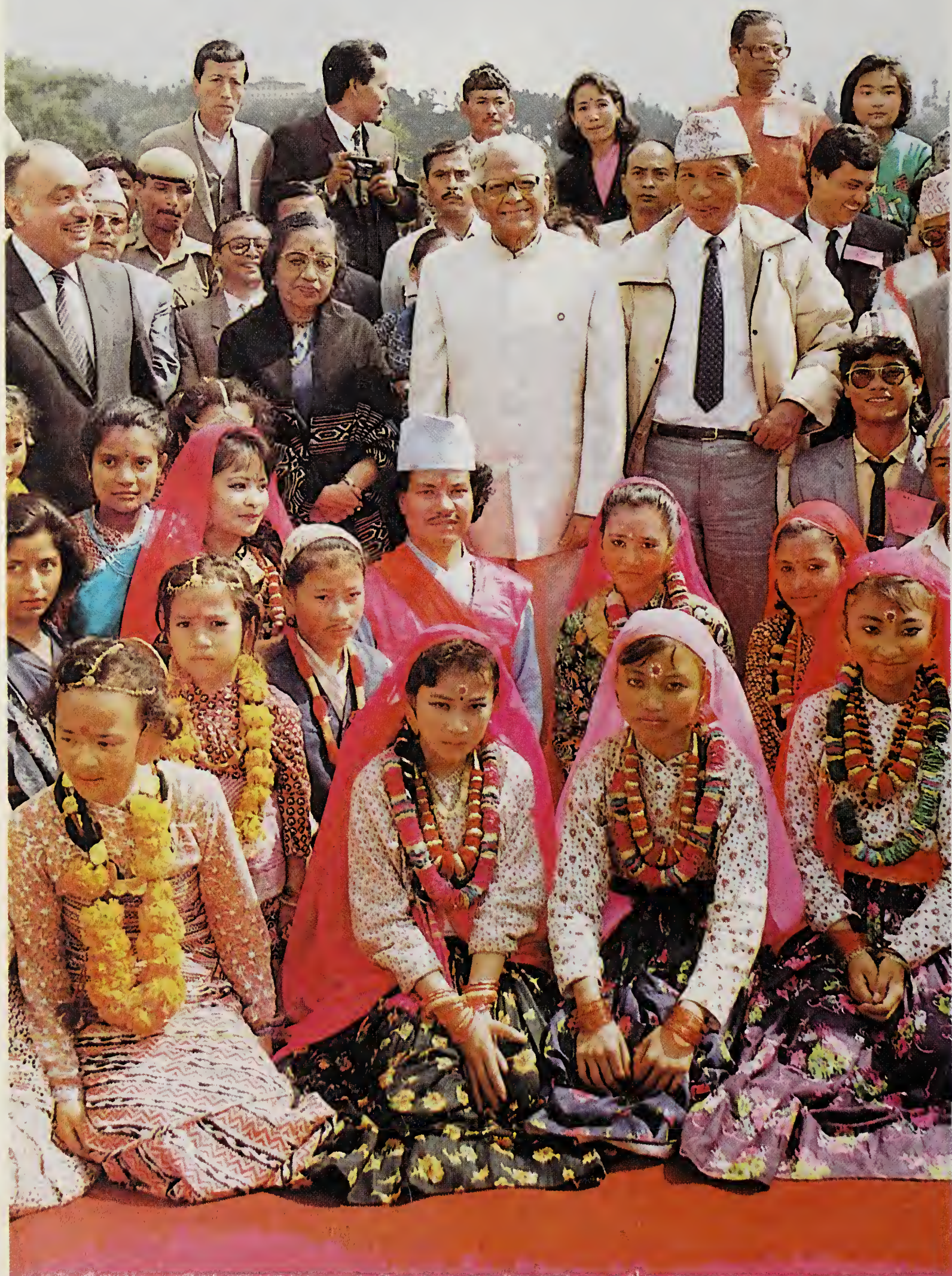
*Administering the oath of office of the Prime Minister
to Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao, New Delhi, 21 June 1991*



Smt Sonia Gandhi receiving the Bharat Ratna awarded to Shri Rajiv Gandhi posthumously from the President, New Delhi, 6 July 1991



With Mother Teresa, New Delhi, 4 October 1991



Amidst the people of Darjeeling, 20 October 1991



With the President of Malta, Dr Censu Tabone, New Delhi, 13 January 1992



With President Yassir Arafat of Palestine, New Delhi, 21 January 1992



With President Soares of Portugal, New Delhi, 25 January 1992



Taking the salute at the Republic Day Parade, New Delhi, 26 January 1992



Presenting the Indira Gandhi Peace Prize to President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, New Delhi, 25 February 1992



President and Smt Janaki Venkataraman at the Taj, Agra, 16 March 1992



At the Corbett National Park (U.P.), 28 March 1992



Presenting the Arjuna Awards, New Delhi, 20 June 1992

combination of the two has not been found perhaps more than a dozen times since the world began. Because he possessed this harmonious combination, Kalidasa ranks not with Shelley but with Sophocles, Virgil and Milton.”

Kalidasa's works contain an elegance of language, a sharpness of phrase, and a classical sensibility which is altogether unique. It is, therefore, no surprise that the great German poet Goethe was overwhelmed by Kalidasa's *Sakuntalam*.

The *Meghadutam*, which contains about 120 stanzas, is perhaps the best known and most widely read work of Kalidasa. Sri Aurobindo has described this work as follows:

“The *Meghadutam* of Kalidasa is the most marvellously perfect descriptive and elegiac poem in the world's literature. Every possible beauty of phrase, every possible beauty of sound, every grade of literary association, every source of imaginative and sensuous beauty has been woven together into a harmony which is without rival and without fault; for amidst all its wealth of colour, delicacy and sweetness, there is not a word too much or too little, no false note, no excessive or defective touch.”

Ranging from kings to common folk, Kalidasa's characters cover the entire spectrum of human nature. His settings spread, similarly, over a bewilderingly variegated landscape—from the Himalayas to Sri Lanka, from palaces to hermitages. Kalidasa's captivating description of flora and fauna and his handling of a variety of human emotions have placed his works among the all-time Greats of world literature.

Kalidasa has made a great appeal to entire humanity. That he has been widely read by all the people of India is evident from the fact that his works were written in the 'Sharda' script in Kashmir and the 'Grantha' script in the South, so that the local people could read and enjoy the beauty and nuances of his expression. His works have been translated into almost all important languages of the world. The *Meghadutam* was translated into Chinese centuries ago. Kalidasa's characters were true to life and made a strong appeal to the reader irrespective of geographical location.

Kalidasa provides a timeless guidance for man's spiritual progress. If the *Raghuvamsa* recommends the path of righteous conduct; the *Malavika-agnimित्रam* speaks of *sanmarg* and the *Vikramorvasiyam* refers to the attainments of devotion: *Bhakti Yoga Sulabhah*. Kalidasa has conveyed in his immortal works a quintessentially Indian view of life.

Kalidasa had a vision of this country as one whole. Just as Adi Sankaracharya made a historic *parikrama* of this great country on foot, Kalidasa established intimate contacts with the entire length and breadth of this country. He gives us descriptions of her different geographical settings and displays his extraordinary familiarity with different sections of Indian society. He emerges as something of a sociologist, natural scientist, philosopher and poet, rolled into one! The variety of our landscape and skyline fascinated and drew out the best from Kalidasa's talents.

Besides the Himalayas, his description of the several rivers of India and parts of Southern India seem to confirm that he was a widely travelled man.

For instance in *Raghuvamsa*, there are graphic descriptions of the entire route from Lanka to Ayodhya. He devotes 20 *slokas* to describe the ocean, the marine fauna, the arecanut and palmyra trees fringing the sea-shore, the pearls, shells and conches of Tamil Nadu. Then he refers to the River Godavari and the Chitrakuta Hill. No person could have described these areas so minutely without seeing things personally.

In his highly regarded *General Introduction to the Complete Works of Kalidasa*, Dr Radhakrishnan has said: "He travelled widely in India and seems to have been familiar with the geography of the country from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari. His graphic descriptions of the Himalaya's scenes, of the saffron-flower, the plant of which grows in Kashmir, looks like one who has personal acquaintance with them."

After the various attributes of Kalidasa's work have been lauded, it will have to be acknowledged that Kalidasa's real greatness lies in his *universalism*. No work, howsoever successful as a literary masterpiece, can survive the test of time if it does not also possess a universal dimension. Like the dialogues of Plato, the compositions of Sophocles and the plays of Shakespeare, Kalidasa's *kavya* is both national and universal. It is national because of its locale and it is universal because it reverberates with emotions and experiences that are valid universally.

Kalidasa proceeds beyond the immediate to the timeless, beyond the physical to the spiritual, beyond meaning to metaphor. There is no doubt that scholars will continue to find in Kalidasa's works a mine of literary treasures, for detailed study.

I am happy to know that the Government of Madhya Pradesh has established an Academy with specific objectives of comprehensive research, resurrection and preservation in the field of classical Indian literature and arts, with Kalidasa at the centre. Academies are not grown overnight. Merely physical resources do not contribute to the growth of an academic atmosphere. We require a devoted class of scholars for the development of a living Institution. As I said earlier, the impact of Kalidasa's vision encompasses the entire country. I would like you to seek the help of various institutions and individuals—seriously engaged in recouping the free spirit of Indian tradition and build the Kalidasa Akademi into an inspiring centre for the study of Kalidasa's works. The Akademi will also, doubtless encourage contemporary studies in Sanskrit.

One of the great unifying influences for us has been the Sanskrit language. I hope and trust that this Samaroha will lead to an increased interest in the study of our Sanskrit classics and in the discovery of their relevance to our lives.

In a way Sanskrit has defied the so-called principles of philology. Sanskrit must have ceased to be a spoken language, as early as the days of the Buddha and Mahavira. But, for more than two thousand and five hundred years, Sanskrit has continued to live and inspire countless generations in this country. Sanskrit and its rich traditions need to be made available to more and more of our people. If today, an acceleration in the study of Sanskrit is

necessary, it is not merely because that would ensure the continuity of a particular linguistic and literary heritage. It is necessary because through the tradition, Indian culture and civilisation can be perpetuated.

I once again thank the Government of Madhya Pradesh for associating me with the Kalidas Samaroha and I extend my best wishes for its continuing success.

May I conclude with the celestial song of Kalidasa which contains a benediction for human welfare:

सर्वेस् तरतु दुर्गणि
सर्वे भद्रणि पश्यन्तु
सर्वः कामान् आप्नीतु
सर्वः सर्वत्र नन्दतु

(May all overcome their difficulties;
May all experience Bliss
May all fulfil their wishes
May all rejoice everywhere).

A Symbol of Unity of Faiths

I WOULD LIKE to offer to you my sincere thanks for the invitation to me to be the chief guest at this ninth convocation of the Sri Sathya Sai Baba Institute of Higher Learning. To visit these precincts is to undertake a pilgrimage; to be in your sagacious presence is to witness the self-renewing principle of India's spiritual heritage. In age after age, India has seen a succession of saints and sages who, by their precept and practice, have taught us that man is not just a higher primate, but a spark of the Divine. You belong to that noble and ennobling succession of Great Teachers.

You have given to this Institute, the motto '*Satyam Vada, Dharmam chara*'. 'Prasanthi Nilayam' is, therefore, not just an Abode of Peace; it is also an Abode of Dharma. Your hallowed presence in this Abode of Dharma helps to bring the best out of all individuals coming here and, to enrich them—physically, intellectually, and spiritually. I regard myself fortunate in having been enabled to come to Puttaparthi on the auspicious eve of your birth anniversary and on the happy occasion of the University's ninth convocation. I offer my greetings and thanks to you.

This is not my first visit to this Institute and so I do not come here as any stranger. But it is a special pleasure to be amidst all of you on the occasion of

the ninth convocation of your University. I would like to extend my warm felicitations to all those who have successfully completed their academic courses and are receiving their degrees today.

To them, I would like to say: You have received instruction in the higher branches of knowledge both in the Arts and in the Sciences. From Literature and Philosophy in the Arts, to Mathematics and the Bio-Disciplines among the Sciences, from Computer Programmes to a plethora of professional courses of the most sophisticated kind, you have acquired a vast fund of knowledge. The most modern and up-to-date instructional methodologies have been employed to equip you in your chosen disciplines. You have received all-round instruction through the system which your institute appropriately calls Integral Education. But above all, you have received here a sense of human values—values which are common to all the religious faiths of the world; indeed, common to humankind.

What is, however, very special about the training you have received here is that it has been given to you in the immediate presence of the remarkable founder of this Institute. This good fortune can hardly be overstated. To receive the teachings of our Acharyas and Sages even indirectly through books is a blessing. To be able to do so directly in the presence of a sage is a blessing that is million-times more blessed. And so, may I specially felicitate all the graduating students of today, on their unique good fortune in having received their *siksha* in the presence of one who is not just a *Sikshaka* but a *Saadhaka*, a Guru.

It has been an ancient practice with us in India, irrespective of our creed, to honour our sages, saints and gurus. We, in fact, equate the Guru with God. Our culture, our philosophy, and our religious traditions are perhaps unique for the place of honour that they assign to Spiritual Teachers. All the religious and philosophical systems founded in India have, in fact, given to Spiritual Teachers, a position of pre-eminence which ranks with the position occupied by the Supreme.

गुरुर् ब्रह्मा गुरुर् विष्णु
गुरुर् देवो महेश्वर
गुरुः साक्षात् परमब्रह्म
तस्मै श्री गुरुवे नमः

Adi Sankaracharya, in the Sri Guruvaashtaka Stotram, observes thus:

न भोगे न योगे न वा वाणी राजौ
न कान्ता मुखे न च वित्तेशु चित्तम्
गुरुहो अंग्रि पद्मे मनञ्च ऐन लग्नम्
ततः किम् ततः किम्
ततः किम् ततः किम्

Meaning:

“Not in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures,
Nor in the performance of Yoga;

Not in the pampering of the palate,
 Nor in the countenance of one's consort
 Should the mind rest;
 If one's mind is fixed on the lotus feet
 Of the Guru
 What more does one need?
 What more
 What more
 What more?"

It is not surprising that with the good fortune of Baba's presence, your campus here has come to acquire a unique serenity. I have visited a large number of teaching campuses in India and abroad. But I must say that I have not seen anywhere else the sublimity of this atmosphere. There is a refinement and a soothing power about your campus. This institute breathes an air of inner calm or a *sthirachittham* which is altogether unique. Such inner poise is not achieved by administrative fiat or by the power of hierarchy. It is acquired by the operation of subjective forbearance. Every teacher and student, every administrator and worker here seems to know intuitively that this Institute of Higher Learning is also a venue of Higher Behaviour and a seat of Higher Understanding.

Integrated understanding, learning and behaviour lead to the full development of the human personality. It leads to what Swami Vivekananda called "man-making". This unquantifiable but vital value-system forms the fibre of the parchments you are receiving today. It forms the pigment of the ink with which your degrees have been printed.

The parchments signifying educational attainments, which are being presented today round off a period of preparation. But they also tell you that you stand on this day on a threshold and at a door which leads both out and in; out of the world of preparation, and into the world of action. A convocation is, therefore, both a rounding off as well as an initiatory rite: a farewell as well as a baptism. It is customary for guest speakers at convocations to give graduating students some advice based on their experience of life. I find that the best advice that can be given has already been made available in the shape of the five great ideals which Baba has described as *Satya*, *Dharma*, *Shanti*, *Prema* and *Ahimsa*. These five ideals are the foundation of this Institute and are the secret of its success. If they were to become the foundation of our society, what wonders could be wrought!

I would like to share some thoughts with you on these five ideals. *Satya* is commonly translated into English as 'truth'. But this by any standards, is an inadequate translation. Non-lying, by itself is not *satya*. There has to be a more positive connotation to it. Mahatma Gandhi, as you are aware, said Truth is God. You must sometimes have wondered what he meant by Truth. He meant by it the truth as given to us by our inner voice, the voice of our human conscience. All of us are born with a sense of what is right and wrong, the 'done' and the 'not done'. Religions build on this ingrained sense. Interpreters have, knowingly or unknowingly, sometimes, distorted the inner

voice of the human conscience. Gandhiji wanted us to tune into that voice of *satya* directly. I would like you to remember the lines of Shakespeare:

*“This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day
Thou canst not then be false to any man.”*

Being true to one's own self would mean, in essence, being true to the human in oneself as against the Hindu or the Muslim, the Andhra or the Tamil, and so on. For too long have we been standard-bearers of this or that denomination. For too long have we denied the human soul in us. Let the *satya* of humanity's common roots be perceived by us. *Satyam vada*, therefore, implies that in your thoughts and utterances speak the truth as your human soul tells you to.

Dharma is virtually an untranslatable word. The Sage of Kanchi once asked me to give him a satisfactory equivalent in English for *Dharma*. His idea was, not to get an English synonym, for he in his infinite wisdom did not need it. His idea was doubtless, to help me explore the full significance of the concept of *Dharma*. ‘Righteousness’ perhaps comes closest to the sanskrit word. But you would do well to remember that *Dharma* does not mean what it is normally taken to mean, namely, religion in the sense of creed or doctrine. It certainly does not mean ritual. It is not merely charity. It is a comprehensive concept of all these ideas. *Dharma* is, essentially, a social ethic. It reminds us that man is a member of a social group and must necessarily interact with others in that group. And while doing so, his actions must bespeak human values. *Dharmam chara*, therefore, implies that your behaviour should be such as to benefit the Family of man, with unselfish goodness in your heart. When Baba Amte tends patients of leprosy, when Mother Teresa ministers to the poor and when countless persons, known and unknown, do an unselfish act or refrain from a selfish one, they are practising *Dharma*. It should be performed not as an act of benevolence but as a matter of duty.

Shanti is more, much more, than the absence of conflict. It betokens an inner calm, such as the calm that prevails in the depths of the ocean. If each of us has an inner stability we will be able to perform our assigned tasks more effectively. A surgeon, for instance, must be at peace or else his hands will tremble and endanger the life of his patient. All of us need peace within and without ourselves. And such *shanti* will bring you a reservoir of strength to face life's tasks.

Prema, similarly, is not just love but loving concern and compassion. The Buddha, Christ, and Gandhiji personified such compassion. You must ask yourself if in whatever we are doing, whether as a routine clerk, a quantum physicist, a businessman or an engineer, a loving concern for fellow-beings finds a place in our scheme of things, or not. If it does, then we are heeding the human impulse in us and are conforming to *Dharma*.

Ahimsa is non-violence, but it is also a great deal more. It is an active involvement in the pain of others. There is the ancient saying:

न त्वहम् कामये राज्यम्
 न स्वर्गम् ना
 पुनर्भवम् कामये दुःख तप्तानाम्
 प्राणीनाम् आर्तिनाशनम्

(I covet not temporal power;
 Nay, nor heaven, nor even freedom from the cycle of life.
 I pray only that beings in distress
 From their agony be redeemed).

Ahimsa does not consist of merely not causing pain to others but more positively of removing pain from other suffering beings. *Ahimsa* in its positive, dynamic aspects, can and must find a place in your thoughts for our society. The world today faces violence in many forms of which the arms race is but one. But even in the world's fearful pursuit of material wealth, invisible violence is perpetuated on the world's poor. It may not be possible for all of us to lead the way in eliminating international violence. But it is open to us to ensure that in the transactions of our life, we will not hurt the interests of other beings. In other words, we will play fair.

If we bear these five principles in mind the Divine spark in each and every one of us will illumine our lives. We will then be enabled to reach out to quality, to excellence but, above all, to the highest standards of human conduct.

Human kindness, forbearance and understanding are tender plants which can be nourished only by the waters of a true spiritualism. What we need is not religious or metaphysical esoterics, but basic spiritualism. Religious and metaphysical esoterics have been known in our civilization for millennia. All our great religions have been sustained by Master Minds. I come from a part of India which is rightly regarded as the soil on which *Advaita* has reached its pinnacle. Adi Sankara, who hailed from Kerala, and the incomparable Ramana Maharshi have embodied the doctrine of all *Vedanta*. Yet, the fact remains that *Advaita*, the belief in monism is hardly understood by the masses. Any society where the core of religion is beyond the comprehension of the vast mass of the people, runs the risk of spiritual decay. The common man has neither had the time nor the energy to follow the complicated theological texts and commentaries. The way of *Gnana*, or knowledge is difficult; the way of *Karma*, or action is arduous. The Buddha recognized this fact and hence he gave, in simple *Prakrit*, his message of compassion. Mahavira, too, saw that *Ahimsa* was not meant for *tapasvis* only but for the generality of the people. Kabir and other Sufis, similarly, interpreted the Holy Doctrine in a manner which common folk as well as the elite could understand. All these personages saw that spiritualism was a bond that could tie all the people of our great land together in a creative partnership. The Bhakti Movement made spiritualism possible and brought devotion nearer to daily life. That is why Adi Sankara said:

मोक्ष कारण सामग्रयाम्
भक्ति रेव गरीयसी

[Among the instruments (paths) and conditions necessary for liberation, *Bhakthi* alone is supreme].

I referred a few moments ago to the great tensions of our present time. I would like you to recall that even four centuries ago similar divisions assailed the people of Bharat. We were divided, politically, culturally, emotionally. That was the time when, in a vindication of the Geetaacharya's assurance, arose the great Bhakti Movement. Transcending caste and creed, it knit India into one emotional entity.

Ramanuja, Madhwa and Vallabha—all Acharyas were the South's contribution to the movement. Long before Mirabai captured the imagination of the North, Andal had found a niche for herself in every *Krishna-bhakta* in the South. Andal, like Mira, is believed in Tamil tradition to have merged finally into Krishna. The Alwars and Nayanmars played the same role. From this very soil of Andhra Pradesh rose Tyagaraja, Annamacharya, Bhakta Ramdas and others.

The North, on its part, also witnessed in the 15-16th century a tremendous vindication of *Dharma* through the upsurge of the same Bhakti Movement. Kabir, Sri Sankara Dev the great Vaishnava apostle of Kamrup-Assam, Guru Nanak, Tukaram and Sant Tulsi Das left an indelible mark on the people. Surdas, Kabir and Mirabai, drew from the mint of our religious heritage liberally. They drew not the nuggets of metaphysical gold, but the humble coppers of devotion. It is these, after all, that enjoy currency and comprise the 'legal tender' of religious belief. Chaitanya went to various places of West Bengal and crossing the Ganga, proceeded to the South via Puri, Bhubaneswar and Konarak. For more than two-and-a-half years Chaitanya travelled in the South going from temple to temple singing to the lowly as well as the learned.

Disturbed by the spiritual aridity of his times, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu offered 'Harinaama' as a mantra by which, on the vast plain of metaphysical thought, plants and flowers of *bhakti* could grow. In his travels through the country inviting and inspiring his audiences to share his rapture in Radha and Krishna, he presaged Sri Ramakrishna.

It is essential, if superstition, prejudice and obscurantism are not to engulf us again, that we revive the spirit of true *bhakti* in our land. I am reminded of the Kabir-inspired song:

ना मैं जप में ना मैं तप में
ना मैं क्रिया कर्म में रहता
ना मैं व्रत सन्यास में
मैं हूँ तेरे पास में

(I dwell not in *japa* or in *tapa*;
I dwell not in *kriya* and *karma*;

Nor in *vrat* or *sanyaas*;
I am here, beside you).

The Almighty resides not in temples and statues but next to us, within touching distance, as it were. He dwells not in differences of faith, but in the faith that underlies all faiths.

Here at the Institute stands the Sarva Dharma Aikya Sthamba, a symbol of the Sri Sathya Sai Seva Organisation. On the five faces of its base are carved in marble, five symbols representing different faiths. The Sthamba stands for the unity of faiths in a spirit of humility and devotion. Baba has said: "Let different faiths exist, let them flourish, let the glory of God be sung in all the languages, in a variety of tunes. Respect the difference between the faiths and recognise them as valid as far as they do not extinguish the flame of unity."

Each graduate of this Institute should be a mobile Aikya Sthamba, holding aloft the flame of unity. He or she should stand for true devotion to the faith underlying all faiths.

May all of you, students of this Institute and beneficiaries of Baba's presence, carry into your avocations the serenity, sublimity and humanity of these precincts. May God be with you always.

A Fine Blend of Tradition and Creativity

IT IS ALWAYS a special pleasure to visit Kalakshetra. Over the years, I have had this pleasure on innumerable occasions. But to be here at the time of Kalakshetra's Art Festival is an added pleasure since during the festival one relives the days of the person who founded Kalakshetra and served it till the last breath of her life, Rukmini Devi. I would, therefore, like to thank Shri Sankara Menon and all those associated with Kalakshetra for giving me this prized opportunity.

My association with Kalakshetra goes back several years. I can scarcely remember a time when, in Madras, I was not associated with Kalakshetra. And so visiting these precincts is to travel down memory lane and to meet a number of friends whom I admire and whose friendship I cherish more than I can say in words.

Our teachers and scriptures tell us that pleasure and pain, happiness and sorrow are inextricably mixed together. Today, as I see so many dear friends seated here, I cannot but miss, with a pang in my heart, Shrimati Rukmini Devi. Although it is more than three years since she left us, it is difficult to accept the fact that she is no more.

Rukmini Devi envisioned Kalakshetra as a Temple of the Arts. But, as I

said at the time of her demise, she saw herself not as the presiding deity of that temple but rather as its first devotee. Rukmini Devi's natural dignity and grace, her vast and unique talents and, above all, the courage of her convictions, made her not just one of the great individuals of our times but one of the great influences of our times. It is the privilege of very few to influence the opinions, beliefs and actions of the society they live in. Rukmini Devi belonged to the select galaxy of those who have exercised such an influence. She became thereby more than a person; she became a whole climate of belief and behaviour. Be it in the realm of our performing arts, or our traditional skills at weaving and fabric design, or be it in the very different realm of initiating legislation for the prevention of cruelty to animals, Rukmini Devi catalysed change; she transformed the prevailing climate of opinion. If 'sadir' emerged from the darkness of disrepute to the daylight of creative self-expression, it is due entirely to Rukmini Devi. If weaving and *kalamkari* did not shrivel up against the challenge of mechanised textiles, it is again, in no small measure, due to Rukmini Devi. Out of her abundant compassion for wild and other animals, Rukmini Devi piloted landmark enactments to prevent cruelty to animals.

But above all, if the arts came in our times to be regarded as something that belong not to the margins of life but at its very centre, reflecting and shaping our innermost natures, much of the credit for that goes to Rukmini Devi. In that sense she carried on the work of Rabindranath Tagore. Kalakshetra became another Viswabharati.

Thanks to the creative guidance given by Smt. Rukmini Devi, the benediction of *vidvans* such as 'Tiger' Varadachariar, 'Veena' Krishnamachariar, Mysore Vasudevachariar, Papanasam Sivan, M.D. Ramanathan and the inimitable Meenakshisundaram Pillai of Pandanallur, Kalakshetra has proceeded towards artistic fulfilment of the dreams of the founder.

I must also mention here the tireless service rendered to Kalakshetra by my friend Sri Sankara Menon. A steady oarsman, he has been navigating Kalakshetra through clear as well as stormy weather to shore after shore of success. 'Sir' to countless students, Sankara Menon has been a recipient of their affection, esteem and trust. I would like to take this opportunity to extend to him my best wishes for many more years of fulfilling service to Kalakshetra.

This institution has produced a succession of distinguished artistes who have, in turn, themselves become excellent teachers. These include Yamini Krishnamurthi, Sarada Hoffman, Krishnaveni, Leela Samson, the Dhananjayans, Janardanan and Balagopal—the internationally renowned 'Hanuman'.

Kalakshetra has come to be specially known for its dance-drama beginning with the celebrated Ramayana series, the 'Kutraala' and 'Kannapar' Kuravanjis and ballets like 'Andaal Charitham'. Today we are to witness the 'Koormavataaram' in yet another example of Kalakshetra's creative handling of our ancient literature.

The impact created by its dance-dramas is, at the conceptual plane, ascribable to Kalakshetra's combining tradition with creativity.

Kalakshetra has broken new ground not just in its presentations but in the costumes for its performance. Kalakshetra's stage-decor and innovations in dancers' wear and gear also reflect a fine blend of tradition and originality.

Thanks to the rigorous training given by Meenakshisundaram Pillai to Rukmini Devi and, in turn, passed on by her to generations of students, Kalakshetra's dance productions have been an amalgam of authenticity and freshness. Kalakshetra has, for instance, shown that *bharatanatyam* can portray *sringara* without coarseness; depict *bhakti* without cloying; and render *abhinaya*, without degenerating into theatricality.

Kalakshetra's *natya* and *kala* have also reflected another traditional but oft-forgotten attribute of India: a certain equipoise and balance. Unfortunately, the tensions and strife which manifests itself in several aspects of modern life have not spared our fine arts and our performing arts. In music, a high volume; in painting, loud colour tones; on the stage and screen, melodrama. These are the distinguishing marks of many cultural presentations today.

We seem today to be losing melody in cacophony; the colours of nature in an explosion of chemical dyes; inflections of human emotion in depictions of subhuman perversity. Noise makes bold to masquerade as music, figurative abandon as art and all manner of histrionic licence as drama. Rukmini Devi once remarked: "We Indians are now going through an artistic *pralaya*, through a veil of superficiality and of ignorance with regard to the real spirit of art. The reality is in the origin of art, and we do not fully realize what a great force it is, and that it can be evoked in the world today."

There can be little doubt that if a kind of *pralaya* is overtaking modern culture, Kalakshetra will be a greenhouse of talent and values in which principles of *sangeet*, *natya* and *kala* will survive to redeem the future of our arts.

The values inculcated by Kalakshetra among generations of students in Kalakshetra and in the Kalakshetra School also serve the purpose of increasing tolerance within society. Restraint and balance mark the best in culture; they also mark the best in society. They in fact hold the key to harmony and peace.

A non-aesthetic society is *ipso facto* a violent society in which human passions replace rhyme and reason.

Let us protect our culture from the assault of vulgarism, our *panbhu* from the onslaught of disharmony. It is not at all too late to check the downward slide. We owe it to ourselves and our progeny to carry forward the great example set by Rukmini Devi and the Kalakshetra.

May I extend to Kalakshetra my best wishes for a perpetuity of service to our arts and, thereby, to our civilisation.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Art Festival and wish it success.

A Pragmatic Approach to University Education

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the Conference of Executive Heads of Commonwealth Universities. This is an important occasion for us in India since this is the first time during its long history that the Association of Commonwealth Universities is meeting in India. I would like to thank the Association of Commonwealth Universities and the Association of Indian Universities for inviting me to participate in this function. I would like to felicitate the Association of Indian Universities for being given the honour of hosting this prestigious conference.

This conference has the benefit of the participation of delegates representing different parts of the Commonwealth and, hence, different types of educational systems. The Commonwealth, as you are all aware, has a wide variety of backgrounds and experience and its member states are themselves in different stages of development. An interaction and exchange of views on policy and practice in the managing of educational systems within the Commonwealth can, therefore, be most rewarding.

The socio-cultural, political and economic changes that are taking place in almost every country have obliged the education systems prevailing there to continuously respond to the evergrowing and changing requirements of emerging societies. The need for sustaining quality, increasing quantity, ensuring relevance and promoting equity in educational programmes have, over time, become major concerns, not merely in developing but developed countries as well. Whatever be the specific problems in different countries, it cannot be denied that there is, almost everywhere, a diminution of public confidence in the university system. The increasing costs of higher and technical education, have, at the same time, generated their own compulsions and consequences. It is not surprising, therefore, that universities all over the world are under greater scrutiny than ever before. There is an ongoing debate amongst academics, university administrators and educational planners in regard to optimum utilisation of available resources and generation of new resources, improving efficiency and effectiveness, establishing accountability and, hence, a deeply felt need for cost-benefit analysis. The need has also been felt for developing performance-indicators and undertaking periodic self-appraisals through community-varsity interaction. These pressures have compelled most national governments in the Commonwealth to either design new educational policies or to review the existing ones. 'Learning for Life' proposals and the Education Amendment Act of 1990 in New Zealand, the Education Reform Act, 1988 in UK, the Education Act of 1987 in Zimbabwe,

and our own National Policy on Education, 1986 reflect some of these initiatives.

The systems of higher learning in the Commonwealth are largely patterned on the British model. During the period of colonial administration, the administrative structure, the organisation of curriculum, the instructional methods and materials and the standards and tools used for judging performance, largely replicated the British system. It was only natural that in the post-colonial period certain departures from these traditions should take place in the Commonwealth countries to suit their particular needs, pace of development and culture. While such changes have not occurred throughout the Commonwealth, they have marked almost all the countries of the Commonwealth which gained independence after the Second World War. These countries have had to encapsulate the developments spread over more than a century in each discipline, in pedagogy, administrative patterns and other aspects of higher education. This had to be done in a relatively short period, keeping pace with the present and providing for the future.

Any change, especially when it deals with established patterns is bound to create tensions. Given the direct nexus between higher education and society, these tensions have affected the socio-economic and political fabric of society as a whole.

This conference, I believe, provides an excellent opportunity for exchange of ideas and sharing of experiences between eminent educational thinkers and practitioners from different parts of the Commonwealth. This will further mutual co-operation and strengthen our bonds. Such an interchange should enable each country to review and, where necessary, modify its higher educational policy to suit its genius, its culture, its socio-economic conditions, its pace of development, its needs and aspirations. The patterns of successful management of change in all countries can never be identical. And so while achieving identity is not and, indeed, cannot be your aim, receptivity to each other's ideas and experiences can and ought to be a sound working principle.

The impressive expansion in higher education and its diversification, particularly in developing countries, are ascribed to a combination of several factors. Notable among these are the recognition of higher education as a means of economic and social progress. The rapid improvement in the general standards of living and rapid urbanisation have also been contributory factors.

With the increase in numbers, the demographic and social composition of the campuses has significantly changed. Young men and women from different strata of society now seek higher education. They do so as a matter of right and there is no reason why they should not. There has also been a perceptible and welcome rise in the number of women students. Furthermore, there is also a growing number of those already employed who return to higher education institutions to improve their prospects by upgrading their qualifications. These trends are likely to continue and, in fact, accelerate.

The galloping cost of higher education and research combined with the

pressure for change of higher education systems in almost all the countries, have brought into focus the question of finding adequate resources for financing educational programmes. This is a recurring theme for discussion and reflection amongst educational administrators. The deliberations of this conference, I am sure, will pay due attention to such important aspects as exploring additional ways and means of financing higher education and research. The relationship between costs and fees, between state help and self-help, and between university responsibility and the responsibility of the beneficiaries of university education are delicate issues. Yet their discussion can neither be avoided nor postponed. In this context, the search for alternative methods of teaching and learning, at low cost should also receive your due attention. This is essential if higher education is to reach all those who need and deserve it.

An important concern manifested in the current debate on higher education relates to quality. The vast growth in student enrolment and the number of institutions without a corresponding provision for facilities and qualified teaching staff, has put most systems of higher education under heavy strain.

The claims of equity versus excellence are, I believe reflected in the policy documents of several participating delegations. This dilemma is very real. Some may argue that mass higher education reduces the marketability of much that is learned, while others may plead that in terms of distributive justice one cannot deny access to higher education on the single criterion of qualification for admission. In India this issue is particularly sensitive. Our universities have provided first-generation learners, specially from remote and rural areas, underprivileged sections of society and women, undreamt-of opportunities for vertical mobility. However, the maintenance of uniform standards poses a serious challenge. A pragmatic approach to provide adequate attention to both the objectives may prove to be the only solution to the problem. I am sure the delegates will give thought to this critical issue.

The resource-crunch faced by so many of us has other consequences too. The demand for more funds from the State for higher education has led to Governments wanting to be assured that the returns in terms of quality and quantity in higher education are commensurate with the State's financial assistance. This could be viewed as a blessing if it enables institutions to develop and adopt performance-indicators and introduce effective mechanisms for institutional appraisal and staff evaluation. In other words, this can help universities ensure that returns in terms of quality and quantity in higher education are commensurate with State financial assistance.

There is no gainsaying the fact that when large public funds are invested in higher education, the universities are expected to establish and develop a reliable system of accountability. There was a time when in the best traditions of British liberalism and academic freedom, any talk of accountability would have met with resistance. But the times have changed. Higher education is no more the preserve of the elite and demands on the public exchequer are continuously increasing while inflows are not!

Higher education can receive its due financial share only when its managers establish that their claims and demands deserve priority consideration. This is possible only through some verifiable system of performance appraisal. The sooner the universities establish it, the better it would be for them.

It is recognized that there are obvious difficulties in quantifying and measuring the quality of teaching and research in universities. Overquantification and application of mechanical and stereotype measuring scales can become counterproductive and detract substantially from the creativity and spontaneity of teaching and research. It is also to be remembered that higher education has as much to do with knowledge and creativity as with the inculcation of values. And it is well to remember also the accountability is not an end itself. It is only a means to an end—the end being to ensure the continuous commitment of the university community to their primary task of teaching and research. ‘Accountability’ should not, therefore, at any cost, at any time, be permitted to degenerate into control. While ensuring accountability of universities is important, protection of their autonomy is essential for their survival and growth.

There is, however, another larger accountability to be pursued: the accountability to the needs and aspirations of the community. By and large universities have tended to isolate themselves from the community. Such an approach would be inconsistent with the aspirations and needs of modern democratic and developing societies. Intellectuals in no group can afford to be indifferent to the needs of the community around them; nor can they hold back from that community the benefit of their diverse expertise and training. It is heart-warming to note that in addition to the preservation, creation and dissemination of knowledge, ‘extension services’ are increasingly coming to be realised as the fourth important dimension of higher education. Your Conference should consider the myriad ways in which this new dimension could be given full shape and character.

The expansion of higher education in almost every country is characterised not just by the linear growth of existing institutions and systems, but also by innovations in curriculum, institutional structures and in the use of technology. One important innovation which is being widely adopted by most countries is the use of distance education techniques for teaching. Distance education obviously has immense potentialities, particularly as a means for broadening access to higher education and achieving equity at a relatively low cost. Countries like India look towards it with great hopes and expectation.

Before I conclude I would like to place on record my appreciation of the significant contribution which the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Association of Commonwealth Universities have made to the cause of higher education in Commonwealth countries. Here I should make special mention of their sustained efforts to promote student mobility within the Commonwealth and their important role in the establishment of the Commonwealth of Learning at Vancouver. We look forward to their continued support and guidance.

The large number of universities in the Commonwealth constitute a

formidable intellectual resource and provide a unique forum for broad-based co-operation among themselves for mutual benefit. As executive heads and leaders of these institutions, you have a major responsibility for giving a purposive direction to the sustained development of the system of higher education which is so crucial for improving the quality of life of our people.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this conference of the Executive Heads of Commonwealth Universities. I wish you every success in your endeavours.

Our Ancient Artistic Identity

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I join this distinguished gathering of artists and art connoisseurs at the inauguration of the Seventh Triennale—India. I would like to extend my thanks to Shri Ram Niwas Mirdha, Chairman of the Lalit Kala Akademi, for giving me an opportunity to partake of this visual repast. I would also like to offer my cordial greetings to the artists from different parts of the globe whose work is represented in this Triennale. These artists have come from different social and cultural environments and traditions but speak a language which has become universal. This Triennale welcomes them, as does India.

India is not only the home of ancient sculpture, as at Sarnath, Elephanta, Mamallapuram and Konark; or the home of paintings as at Ajanta and Sittannavasal. It is civilisation where art is to be seen not just in its great peaks but in the plateaus and valleys of daily existence. Art is integral to the rhythms of India. When, at dawn, the Indian housewife draws the *kolam* or *alpana* at her doorstep, she is an artist. And craft remains the hub of our society. For centuries, our artisans have crafted objects that have utility and beauty. The onset of plastics has threatened but not destroyed the innate creativity of our craftspersons who relieve the prosaic monotony of life with the poetry of natural, intuitive creativity.

And so, if the Lalit Kala Akademi has organized six successful international celebrations of art in New Delhi, it has, in a sense, been mandated to do so by the genius of this country.

As you are all aware, the first Triennale-India was thought of in 1968 by our distinguished writer and art critic, Dr Mulk Raj Anand. Thirty-one countries took part in that event. Subsequent Triennales have seen the numbers grow. But more than the increasing participations, it is the recognition of Triennale-India as an important world event for art that goes to the credit of the Akademi. Leading painters and sculptors participate in the Triennale-

India, enabling both India and Contemporary Art to pay to each other, a mutual tribute.

Oftentimes, when beholding a work of art, the question arises in one's mind: 'Where do the roots of art and of artistic expression lie?' To an extent, these roots can be traced to the soils of our cultural and aesthetic conditions—to our tribal moorings, to our religious environment, to the influence of particular guilds, schools of art, royal courts. In other words, to the evolving temper of our artistic milieu. This temper shapes the externals of a painter's or sculptor's vision. And yet there is a deeper impulse as well. Our ancient forbears, who drew with simple lucidity on the walls of caves were, of course, the products of their social mores. And yet we can discern in their dateless rock-paintings, an intangible but very powerful impulse.

Nature in its pristine form became a source of mystic inspiration for art. The shapes, lines, colours, tones and—underlying them—the artist's visions began to articulate the artist's sense of mystery, of awe. A long phase ensued when man viewed the earth and the sky in their many changing hues with wonderment, and proceeded to depict them faithfully. Painting, therefore, played, for centuries, a camera-like role of portrayal. The truer the reproduction of nature, the more prized was the painting. But painting and, soon thereafter, sculpting, moved from a facile transcribing of externals to an increasingly inner expression.

Artists down the ages began to attach importance to insight. They acquired an interest, no less than philosophers or poets, in reflection or introspection.

Philosophy and religion have, consequently, never been far from the springs of artistic motivation. Artists were, very often, spiritually evolved beings who had received an illumination and, thereafter, sought to propound it to others. The classical works of ancient Greece and Rome or those in many parts of Europe, bear the stamp of faith. Stained-glass paintings and outstanding works such as those of Leonardo da Vinci and of Michelangelo were imbued with religious devotion. The celebrated frescoes and sculptures in India and at celebrated sites in Sri Lanka, Java, Thailand, Myanmar, Nepal, China and Japan made the artist something of a missionary and made the missionary, very often, an artist. And so, nature gave place to religion as one of the springs of artistic expression.

In modern times, yet another and even more fundamental shift has taken place. Material and spiritual values have been in opposition with each other. And religious belief which were taken as axiomatic until the last century, have come to be challenged. The modern artist is a questioner. He is constantly asking the why and wherefore of things, from systems and from society itself.

Enquiry has been central to what is known as 'modern art'. Modern art goes beyond a facile enchantment of the eye. It fulfils a more essential purpose—the articulation of some of the nagging questions of our time.

In India, the encounter with the West raised a new situation in which great artists suddenly became aware of the winds of change blowing elsewhere but, at the same time, became aware too of the stagnation within Indian society. Western modes of painting opened new windows to them. But their themes

and artistic statements remained authentically Indian. Raja Ravi Varma, for instance, used the styles of painting of the Victorian era, but depicted themes from our own legends and mythology. Likewise, with the flowering of the Bengal School of Painting under Tagore's influence, an altogether new and dynamic expression of our ancient artistic identity came into its own. Ancient tradition acquired line, definition and shape in the paintings of Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose and Jamini Ray.

The Seventh Triennale-India brings under one roof the works of creative artists from all over the world. Its richness and variety portray the moods, environs and subtle concepts of some of the eminent painters, sculptors and their social milieu. Each one carries with it not only pleasing visual presentations but a deeper meaning of value to life. I am told that artists from other countries have come to India to react to the Indian situation and paint or create accordingly. This is a welcome feature. These artists have tried to understand the country, met the people of this land and cultivated friendship with them. Such visits will bring the people of different parts of the world together and enable them to develop closer co-operation amongst them.

The artists transcend national, geographic linguistic and religious boundaries. To them the world is one and an object of great beauty. They endeavour all the time to create inner peace and joy. At the same time they express themselves freely and frankly as guided by their inner self.

There is in today's world much that needs to be set right. And it can be set right not just by those in high offices of state. It is the artists, thinkers, writers who reflect and mould public opinion. The public trusts artists because they have chisels, not axes to grind; their brushes are used to paint, not tarnish the truth!

We see today our Mother Earth menaced by all that artists abhor. Greed and violence, revenge and more violence are the unmistakable signs of civilisational breakdown.

Artists and philosophers, more than anyone else, can stop the coarsening of the human fibre. May their art be not just beautiful; may it be redemptive. And may it knit the peoples of the world together in a rainbow of harmonized hues.

With these words, I have great pleasure in declaring the Seventh Triennale—India, open.

A Seat of Sanskrit Learning

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha as a Deemed to be University. I had the pleasure of inaugurating the Sanskrit Vidyapeetha at Tirupati, as a Deemed to be University in 1989. I had taken some interest in the establishment of Sanskrit universities and hence I feel great satisfaction at the founding of these two institutions.

I would like to offer my warm felicitations to the Vidyapeetha on this well-deserved recognition of its stature. I also take this opportunity to extend my cordial greetings to the Vidyapeetha's Chancellor, Sri T.N. Chaturvedi and to its Vice-Chancellor, Dr Mandan Misra. The faculty, staff and students of the Vidyapeetha are fortunate in obtaining the services of these two energetic scholar-administrators. I have no doubt that under their stewardship the Vidyapeetha will grow rapidly in strength and reputation. I am particularly happy to see here Sri Pattabhirama Sastriar and Sri Ramanuja Thathachariar, the renowned scholars who are Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, respectively, of the Tirupati Vidyapeetha. The presence of several other Vedic scholars assembled here from different parts of the country has added lustre to today's function. I extend my greetings to all these pandits and *vidwans*

This Vidyapeetha, as you are all aware, was founded in 1962 under the inspiring guidance of our late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri. The Vidyapeetha could not have aspired for better auspices. Shastriji was the quintessence of those traditional values which have been extolled in Sanskrit literature. He is remembered for his innate humility, transparent sincerity and the highest sense of rectitude. Committed to India's traditional values of *satya* and *ahimsa*, Shastriji never flinched from the call of duty in terms of Krishna's teachings. He provided to India a quality of leadership during the war of 1965 which bespoke the ancient truth of the famous line in the *Mahabharata*:

यतो धर्मम्

ततो जयः

(Where righteousness is,
There alone is victory).

Ever since the Government of India brought this institution under its protective care, the seed planted in 1962, has been growing steadily into a tree and to blossom. The decision of the Government of India and of the University Grants Commission, to accord to it the status of a Deemed to be

University, confirms the creditable progress the institution has made since its inception.

The Vidyapeetha has been rendering the most commendable service to the cause of Sanskrit learning. A pageant of civilizations has moved on this venue of the Vidyapeetha, namely, Delhi. The study of Sanskrit has been fostered here with varying degrees of emphasis through many civilizations. I am reminded particularly of the fact that, in Mughal times, the Philosopher-Prince Dara Shikoh invited a number of pandits from Varanasi to his palace here, in the city of Delhi, to help him complete his rendering of the *Upanishads* into Persian.

Sanskrit has held a fascination for generations of Indians irrespective of creed or caste, on account of its depth of ideas, elegance of expression and rhythm in recitation.

Sanskrit is, first and foremost, the language of our immortal values. The four *Vedas* and the commentaries on them, namely, the *Upanishads* are the founts of Sanskrit literature. Since the time those great works were composed, a vast body of literature—philosophical, narrative, lyrical, dramatic and technical has appeared in Sanskrit language.

Our *Vedas*, *Upanishads* and *Puranas* were followed by the epics of Valmiki and Vyasa, dramas of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, the codes of Yajnavalkya and Manu; treatises on the act of governance by Kautilya, on music and dance by Bharata, on grammar by Panini and Patanjali; on astronomy by Aryabhatta and on medicine by Charaka and Susruta.

Because of its antiquity, Sanskrit is often bracketed with Latin and described as a 'dormant' language. This description is true only in the sense that Sanskrit is no longer a spoken language. But even as the Himalayas, themselves immobile, are the source of many a vibrant river, so has Sanskrit functioned as the source of the vocabularies of several modern languages. As the language of the learned, Sanskrit has knit the scholars scattered throughout India and unified it.

The *Vishnu Purana* has described India as the country which extends from the Himalayas to the sea.

Thanks to the studies of Radhakumud Mukerjee and other scholars of eminence, we also know of the "seven pilgrim spots" described in Sanskrit lore. Sanskrit has thus sustained a sense of its nationhood in the Indian psyche not just geo-physically but culturally, intellectually and spiritually.

Adi Sankara's whirlwind tours to all corners of India and his disputations with scholars in different parts of the country demonstrates the role of Sanskrit as a link language of the country in those early times. If this mastermind and guru of gurus was able to explain the principles of *advaita* throughout the length and breadth of India and to debate with scholars and sages of the north, east and west, it was because great thinkers of the time could converse with each other through the medium of Sanskrit.

Adi Sankara's achievement has been repeated by rishis, saints, scholars and others uninterruptedly, for millennia.

Sanskrit works, whether religious or secular, whether in the form of epics,

lyrics or drama have permeated our consciousness. The great works of Vyasa and Valmiki have, in particular, held sway over the hearts and minds of the people of India in a manner which has few parallels in history. The characters of those epics have offered paradigms of conduct, thereby shaping the thoughts and actions of our people. The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* have also served to draw the world's attention to that unique concept which India has contributed to human thought; the concept of Dharma. The word and the concept are virtually untranslatable into English. And yet, every Indian, literate or illiterate, knows the meaning and the implications of the word Dharma.

Dharma can only be described as a spectrum of values. Dharma means righteousness, charity, justice, fairplay, religion, one's obligations like Raj Dharma or Sanyasa Dharma, and a host of other ideas known to our ancients. All these relate to human conduct and human values. The Gitacharya says:

धर्मं संस्थापनार्थाय
संभवामि युगे युगे।

(For the establishment of righteousness,
I come into being from age to age).

Here it would be important to note that the emphasis is on the decline in Dharma as such; not on the decline of any particular creed or belief-system. The Lord's promise to appear and reappear is to end *adharma* or misconduct in human society. The emphasis has been laid on righteous conduct so that mankind may live in peace and harmony. These reappearances, moreover, do not refer only to the various avatars like Vamana, Rama and Krishna, but also to various saints and sages who, throughout the ages, have appeared in one form or the other to restore Dharma in human society as a whole.

Sanskrit is, therefore, the repository not just of some of India's greatest cultural legacies, but of all humanity's. The *Vedas* speak not just for India but for all mankind; indeed, for all of creation.

'*Vasudheiva Kutumbakam*' is perhaps the world's most inclusive concept. It holds out a great and noble ideal, which unfortunately has been lost sight of by humanity in its preoccupation with mundane conflicts.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that successive Governments of India have taken the responsibility of sustaining, promoting and propagating Sanskrit language and studies. The setting up of Sanskrit Vidyalyayas and Vidyapeethas and conferring on them the 'Deemed University' status exemplifies this policy.

I am glad to learn that the Vidyapeetha has equipped itself with a programme of utilizing computer methodologies. The precision of Sanskrit will lend itself to computerized handling easily and I am sure the Vidyapeetha will break new ground in this task. I would in this context like to suggest that the various Sanskrit institutes and universities such as this, and the ones at Varanasi, Darbhanga, Puri and Tirupati should identify areas where they must work together and, at the same time, earmark areas where they will

specialize individually. A certain amount of overlap would be unavoidable but it would be necessary to each of them, while forming a fraternity, to be known for one or other kind of distinctiveness. For instance, one could be valued for its research works in the *Vedas*, the other in the *Puranas* and yet another in medieval Sanskrit literature. The work of one could be directed towards lexicography, that of the other could be more conceptual and so on.

It would also be useful for cognate organizations like the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, and libraries like the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Manuscript Library in Madras to establish academic linkages with the Sanskrit universities.

I have no doubt that a future of great achievements awaits this Vidyapeetha. It has my best wishes for every fulfilment and success as a vehicle of both Sanskrit as well as *sanskriti*, that is, culture.

With these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating the Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha as a Deemed to be University.

Fostering Our Cultural Heritage

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to associate myself with the presentation of the Annual Sangeet Natak Akademi Awards. I would like to offer my cordial felicitations to the distinguished winners of the Sangeet Natak Akademi Fellowships and Awards, 1990. In honouring these outstanding performing artistes we honour a cherished heritage, a priceless national treasure.

The function is taking place in Delhi after several years and I am sure that the residents of the capital will welcome this opportunity to meet the distinguished artistes from all parts of the country. Delhi has over the centuries been the home of many outstanding personalities in the world of *sangeet* and *natya*. Delhi had a *gharana* of its own, with the late Chand Khanji being its leading light. In more recent times, the fame of two outstanding singers from this city has travelled to the rest of India and abroad. I refer to the late Siddheswari Devi and Ustad Fayazuddin Dagar. Siddheswari's mastery of the '*thumri*' and Fayazuddin's renderings of the *dhrupad* will be remembered as long as the Yamuna flows and the Red Fort stands on this soil.

Delhi is the home of a rich culture. Artistes of national and international renown have made Delhi their home. The inimitable genius Pandit Ravi Shankar and the distinguished Sarod players Sharan Rani and Ustad Amjad Ali Khan have attained their renown here. In the realm of *natya*, Delhi has

been home to the eminent Kathak exponent, Pandit Birju Maharaj. Three accomplished dancers have set up in Delhi, schools for teaching *natya*; Yamini Krishnamutri, Sonal Mansingh and Uma Sharma. And that premier institution, the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya has carved a niche for itself in the life of this city.

Delhi has also been the venue of a major theatre movement with which the names of Ibrahim Alkazi and Sheila Bhatia are memorably associated. The National School of Drama is recognized as a landmark institution.

Art needs one form of nourishment more than any other, namely recognition by patrons, critics and the discerning public. The Akademi's fellowships and awards instituted more than 35 years ago provide the tender nourishment to art.

If inspiration is the soil on which all creative art takes root, encouragement is the water that nourishes that plant as it grows. In the past, the royal palace and the temple provided a forum for artistic endeavour. With the efflux of time, this role withered and decayed due to neglect and contempt showered on indigenous art by the colonial masters. But thanks to the vision of our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru and to that of those masterminds: Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Maulana Azad, a vacuum was averted. The Government of India decided to institute the three Akademies which would provide the necessary encouragement to our fine arts and our performing arts. The honouring of artistes formed an integral part of this policy and the scheme of Sangeet Natak Awards came to be looked upon as a national recognition of talent.

But these awards go beyond the recognising of individual excellence. They foster our cultural heritage and serve to remind us that in our rich diversity lies an undercurrent of unity.

The presence of so many eminent performing artistes from different parts of India exemplifies this principle. Classical as well as 'folk', urban or tribal, India's performing arts are a kaleidoscope of the most varied patterns. Each turn of the instrument reveals a new and fascinating formation, in colour and design. But the segments are common.

It is appropriate that over the years the Akademi has been widening the scope of its awards. The awards now cover all areas of artistic expression at the classical, traditional as also folk levels. The forms are varied as can be gleaned from this year's list of awardees. Excellence has been recognised in the myriad modes of *sangeet* and *natya*. While exponents of vocal music in both the Carnatic and Hindustani systems have been honoured, players of a varied range of instruments like violin, *sarangi*, *tabla*, *veena* and *mridangam* have also received the attention. *Sangeet* and *natya* are, by definition, creative. But, it is the privilege of some Master-artistes to step beyond talent, into the world of genius and break new ground in the process. I am glad the Akademi has recognized this principle by selecting the outstanding violin player Shri L. Subramanyam for an award this year. His creative genius is bound to scale new heights in the years to come.

I am happy to note from the list of recipients that two of the stalwarts with

distinctive contributions to their credit, have been honoured with the Akademi's Fellowships this year, Shri Ram Gopal and Shri Utpal Dutt. Their sustained individual achievements and services to the performing arts have received wide public acclaim. I would like to congratulate both of them on their exceptional services to India's cultural life.

Of the various arts, music and dance are perhaps the most sublime, bridging as they do, man with divinity. In the field of the fine arts, like sculpture and painting, natural objects in the universe, often provide direct, tangible, assistance. But *sangeet* and *natya*—which includes theatre—has to develop by the genius of the individual artist. That genius is the voice of the soul and the language of the emotions, reaching to the infinite. That this form of creative self-expression is truly divine has been conceded by the Lord Himself:

*“Naham Vasami Vaikunte
Yoginam Hridayenacha
Madhbhaktha Yathra Gayanti
Thatra Thesthami-Narada.”*

I am reminded today of what Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan once said:

“The true purpose of music is not only to give pleasure to the senses, or instruction to the mind, but to convert your whole being and lift it above sorrow, above the enchantments and disenchantments of this world. In the world of music, you build a shrine of beauty, and when you once worship that, you come back to life better inspired for doing practical work. That is the true purpose of music.”

In short, Dr Radhakrishnan said music and art civilize humankind.

Hatred and violence can have no place in a civilized society. A society which ennobles arts cannot be base or vulgar. In fact, nothing narrow or selfish can coexist with a true exponent or true *rasika* of the arts. It is the music of our saints and sages like Kabir, Nanak and Surdas that has helped preserve the equilibrium in society and righteousness in the individual. I believe that it is only because ninety per cent of the people observe proper conduct that one per cent of State Forces whether Defence or Civil are able to maintain law and order. The ninety per cent observe the laws not so much because of fear of punishment but because they feel they must observe righteousness in their lives.

May I conclude with the confidence that the fraternity of performing artistes in India will continue to work for the preservation of righteousness; ushering in harmony where there is discord, restraint where there is excess and balance where there is disequilibrium.

I have great pleasure in once again congratulating the award winning artistes and wishing them every fulfilment. May I also extend to the Sangeet Natak Akademi my best wishes for its continuing success and usefulness.

A Unique Museum

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I associate myself with the inauguration of the new building of the Sri Krishna Museum, Kurukshetra. I would like to extend my cordial thanks to Shri Dhanik Lal Mandal, the Governor of Haryana, to Shri Bhajan Lal, the Chief Minister, and to the Kurukshetra Development Board, for giving me the opportunity to perform so pleasant a task in this historic city.

The Government of Haryana has bestowed careful attention to the venerated sites located here. The Kurukshetra Development Board, was set up by the Government of Haryana in 1968 under the chairmanship of my valued friend and veteran leader, Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda. The Board was entrusted with the specific task of preserving and renovating the cultural and historical places and tanks situated in the Kurukshetra area. I am happy to see that under Nandaji's wise stewardship, this Board has acquitted itself most creditably. It has rendered a very fine service by renovating the Brahma Sarovar and other Sarovars in the vicinity. I was able to spend a little time at the Brahma Sarovar earlier today. The visit has left an indelible impression on my mind and I will always cherish the experience.

To be in Kurukshetra is, for any Indian, to be on hallowed ground. These environs constitute what is probably India's most celebrated religio-historic venue. Kurukshetra's antiquity, dates back to the *Vedas*. Popular belief holds that the sacred river Saraswati flowed right past Kurukshetra and that Vedic hymns were composed and chanted along its banks. Likewise, it is believed that it was on this sacred soil that Vashishtha and Viswamitra attained divinity.

The most sacred association of these precincts is, of course, with that masterpiece among the world's sacred texts, the *Mahabharata* and its incomparable Song Celestial, the *Bhagavad Gita*. In the *Gita*, Kurukshetra has been described as Dharmakshetra, the field of righteousness: *Dharmakshetre, Kurukshetre*.

The Kurukshetra area has, therefore, come to be inextricably woven into our nation's consciousness as the battlefield of the great *Mahabharata* War where the immortal *Gita* was first intoned by the Bhagwan, Sri Krishna.

Of the several divinities that constitute India's sacred pantheon, Sri Krishna is perhaps the most loved of all. Worshipped as the eighth Avatara of Vishnu and as an exceptional manifestation of the divine in His own right, Sri Krishna is the very soul of the *Mahabharatha* and of the *Puranas*. The *Bhagavata Purana* in particular has immortalized Him. Krishna, the infant, born to Vasudeva and Devaki; Krishna the child with his mischievous pranks; Krishna the cowherd beloved of Nanda and his wife Yashoda; Krishna the

player of the flute enrapturing Radha; Krishna the slayer of the wicked Kamsa and, finally, Krishna the Divine Instructor of Arjuna on the importance of performing one's duty without aspiring for the fruits thereof occupies a position in the Indian psyche which is altogether unique.

The variety and beauty of the legends associated with Krishna have led to the creation of ecstatic literature such as the *Gita Govinda* and the sublimest painting and sculpture. Krishna temples at Dwaraka in the west, Mathura in the north, Nabadwip in the east, Guruvayoor and Udupi in the south bear living testimony to the pervasiveness of Krishna's place in the hearts of all Indians. Krishna has provided the theme for classical dances such as Bharata Natyam as well as for folk dances such as Manipuri. And, of course, Krishna has stimulated the highest philosophical contemplation.

It is, therefore, most gratifying that a museum should be set up here at Kurukshetra on the subject of "Krishna in the Arts", exhibiting Krishna's depictions in sculpture, painting and the folk arts. It is a matter of particular significance and satisfaction that this museum contains exhibits which have been retrieved from the Kurukshetra area itself. Seeing many valuable representations of Krishna whether as a child—Navaneethan—crawling on his hands and knees with a dollop of butter in his hands, or whether as a divine lover—Madhusudan or Venugopal—playing the flute surrounded by Radha and other Gopis or whether as the soul-stirring charioteer—Parthasarathi—leading Arjuna into War, Krishna has been both an aesthetic and a spiritual phenomenon.

Krishna has been the inspiration for the Bhakti Movement in India. Be it Meerabai in the north, Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in the east, the saint singer Andal in the south, or Thukaram in the west, all of them have traversed the path of Bhakti chanting the name of Sri Krishna.

Of the several paths to salvation Bhakti is considered to be the best. This truth was realised by saints and sages belonging to all religions in India. While the Bhakti Movement led by Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, Sankaradeva, Tulasi-das and Thukaram flowered on the tree of Hindu faith, we also had Kabir and Nanak preaching virtually the same message of devotion. Krishna synthesized the religious thoughts of the age and gave through the *Gita*, a message of practical spirituality which transcended barriers of caste and class and sex. He brought Vedanta to the doorsteps of the Indian people as a whole and made the conflict of sects and castes irrelevant. Krishna says in Chapter IV of the *Gita*:

ये यथा माम् प्रपद्यन्ते
तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम्
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते
मनुष्याहः पार्थ सर्वसह

(Through whatever paths men come unto Me, I reward them through those very paths; all paths, O Arjuna, ultimately lead unto Me only).

Kurukshetra has not been the preserve of any single religious denomination. Ahmed Baksh, the famous Muslim devotee of Sri Rama, wrote the *Sangita Ramayana*, which has been staged regularly here at Kurukshetra. Three of the Mughal emperors, including Akbar the Great, visited Kurukshetra. Sikh Gurus visited this place at periodical intervals, as the Gurudwaras built here in their memory testify. Kurukshetra is associated with the renowned saint of the Nirmala sect, Gulab Singhji as also with the eminent spiritual writer, Bhai Santokh Singhji.

Here, on this sacred soil, Krishna incantated this *sloka*:

यो-यो याम् याम् तनुम् भक्तः
ताम् एव विदंधाम्यहम्
तस्य-तस्या चलाम् श्रद्धाम्
ताम् एव विदंधाम्यहम्

(Whatever form any devotee with faith wishes to worship, I make that faith of his, steady).

This eclectic aspect of Krishna's teachings holds a deep significance for India.

Indian society is, today, deeply divided on the basis of caste, creed, language and regionalism. Hatred, suspicion and violence have vitiated human life. Let us resolve that in the Kurukshetra of our lives, where we are constantly facing struggles and challenges, we shall heed the message of the Gitacharya. Let this museum educate all of us of the fundamental unity of humankind, the brotherhood of man.

Setting New Goals in Science and Technology

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to participate in the bicentenary celebrations of the College of Engineering, Guindy. I would like to offer my felicitations to the College and all those associated with it, as well as to the Anna University, on this auspicious occasion.

This institution has earned a high reputation for itself not just in Madras or in India but, even abroad, as a centre of excellence.

Human beings are mortal, but they are capable of creating things that are immortal. Among man's creations that abide, are educational institutions. They withstand many vicissitudes; absorb changes, respond to the developing

needs of the environment and continue to render their unique service. The College of Engineering, Guindy, is an example of an educational institution that has slaked the thirsts of generation after generation of students for two hundred years.

Few educational institutions in India can claim two centuries of service. For a technological institution this is no mean achievement.

As you are aware, the College owes its origin to the Survey School set up by the East India Company in 1794 which grew into a civil engineering school in 1858 and later into the College of Engineering in 1886. Degree courses in mechanical engineering were introduced in 1895 and, for the first time in India, in electrical engineering, in 1930. The college of engineering, Guindy has the proud privilege of being the first to introduce degree courses in telecommunications engineering and printing technology.

The College of Engineering, can, therefore, be rightly regarded as a pioneer in engineering education in India. The College has had an excellent tradition of great teachers like Nagarathnam Iyer who became the first Indian Principal in the 20's. Great engineers like Thirumalai Iyengar and Dr K.L. Rao were his students. The college has had other outstanding Principals like Prof. J.J. Rudra, Lt. Col. Pal and Dr K. Sukumaran who contributed to the growth and reputation of the College by their insistence on maintaining high academic standards. The college's distinguished alumni include Govindaraja Iyengar, P.V. Manicka Naicker and Dr V. Kurien. It is only appropriate that we remember these personalities today when we are celebrating the bicentenary of this College.

This beautiful campus with red brick buildings is a noted landmark in Madras and has attracted other engineering institutions and laboratories around it. I recall that when I was the Industries Minister in the then Madras Government, Guindy, with this background, became the natural choice for the industrial estate which stimulated much of the industrial growth in this part of India.

With such renowned technological institutions around it, such as the A.C. College of Technology, the Leather Research Institute, I.I.T., the State Government's Technology Campus housing Polytechnics, the Film Institute, Catering College, etc., this part of Madras can be appropriately called the Engineering and Technology city.

I have been fortunate to be associated with the development of technical education in Tamil Nadu in one capacity or the other, for over a decade. The State's network of industrial training institutes, polytechnics and colleges in engineering and technology were developed mostly during the 50s and 60s when the architect of modern India, Jawaharlal Nehru was our Prime Minister and the incomparable leader, Kamaraj, was our Chief Minister. The starting of self-financing colleges and polytechnics in Tamil Nadu is a relatively recent phenomenon.

The establishment of a university of technology in Tamil Nadu with the College of Engineering, Guindy as the focal point, has gone through a long process involving a number of suggestions and proposals. It was during

1963–64, that, in my capacity as the Minister in charge of Technical Education, I appointed a Committee with Prof. B. Sengupto, the then Director of I.I.T., Madras, as Chairman and Shri T. Muthian, the then Director of Technical Education as Secretary, to consider the establishment of a university of technology in Tamil Nadu and submit a report with appropriate recommendations.

Initially, there was a strong advocacy from some in favour of constituting all the polytechnics and engineering colleges in the State into a university of technology. This was not found acceptable on the ground that polytechnic education is at sub-university level and could not form part of an institution of higher education and research. An alternative proposal for forming a university with all the engineering colleges was later considered. Since private engineering colleges could not be transferred to the University to form constituent colleges, the idea of an affiliating university of technology was mooted and examined. Educationists were not in favour of an affiliating University in the professional field. Consultations and discussions at the state level and correspondence with the Government of India continued for long and it was in 1978, almost fifteen years after the proposal was initiated, that the University in its present form with the College of Engineering as the main campus was established.

The College, certainly has made phenomenal growth after its transformation as the main campus of a university appropriately named after the charismatic leader, the late C.N. Annadurai.

An educational institution does not rest on buildings and equipment, important as they are. It is also not a matter of talented faculty only. The tradition behind it, the atmosphere of scholarship that exists and the spirit of intellectual inquiry that prevails, go to make an institution, distinct and distinguished. These can neither be imported nor transplanted; nor can they be developed overnight. It is part of a cultural evolution and is, therefore, a product of time.

If we take a quick look at the progress of human civilization, we find that the East had maintained a dominant position in learning and scholarship during the Christian era upto the 12th century. Thereafter, one sees contributions from both the East and the West upto the 15th century. But from then on, the West took the lead, leaving the East behind. A few major developments contributed to this phenomenon. These included the invention of the printing press in the 15th century by Gutenberg, the contributions of Galileo in the 16th and Newton in the 17th century which laid the foundation of modern science. The invention of the steam power by James Watt and electric energy by Faraday revolutionised the transport system and led to the establishment of the industrial civilization.

The invention of the stored programme computer after the Second World War ushered in the high technology era, and in a sense, completed the process.

This development led to a sharp hiatus between the developed and the developing countries threatening global harmony and peace. The world's

unfortunate and underprivileged half, when it woke from its colonial slumber, sought to correct the imbalance. It is to the eternal credit and foresight of Jawaharlal Nehru, more than anyone else, that he realized the tremendous contribution which science and technology could make to the socio-economic transformation of our country. He was steadfast in his belief that the problems of poverty and unemployment could be met only through the application of science and technology in various facets of our economic life. He scoffed at the criticism that a poor country could ill-afford the luxury of expenditure on science and technology. Instead, he reiterated that India's poverty could be solved only by application of science and technology.

If India is an industrial power today and if she is self-sufficient in many areas, it is due to the direction that Nehru gave us. The large number of national laboratories dotted all over India, the Atomic Energy Commission, the innumerable institutes and universities that Nehru set up have yielded fruit for this generation and if India ranks among the industrialized countries of the world, it is in no small measure due to the dynamic programmes launched by Nehru and responded to by the scientists and technologists of India.

Knowledge is the tool for developing technology and development in basic sciences must receive high priority. A society must be able to use new knowledge that is being continuously generated; otherwise new resources will become inaccessible to it. A society must be able to create new knowledge to meet its needs. If you do not have the capacity to create knowledge, your capacity to use knowledge generated elsewhere will be limited. In other words, a threshold of research capability is needed even to buy or borrow know-how and make use of it. If you do not have the capacity to shape and mould science and technology to suit your social, cultural and economic needs, you will be overwhelmed by the enveloping influence of science and technology developed and used by others to improve their power and economy.

The influence of science and technology today transcends national boundaries. You cannot erect barriers or build walls against its expanding influence.

The pioneering economist, Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, argued that underdeveloped economies would not ever be able to catch up with industrial countries because of their lack of an industrial culture and that it would take them centuries to assimilate these essential features of an industrialized society. We have already disproved this hypothesis in several sectors and emerged as a significant industrial power in the international scene. We have achieved this mainly through better education and training. We must do more to complete this process. The solution lies in continuous adaptation of education to meet the current challenges and changing environment.

The progress we have made over the last four decades can be seen from the fact that in 1950–51, we spent around Rs. 5 crore for Research and Development. The expenditure for 1989–90 has been estimated at around

Rs. 4004 crore. India, perhaps, is the only developing country that spends a little over one per cent of GNP on R & D. The out-turn of science and technology personnel was around 18,000 in 1950; it rose to 1.58 lakhs in 1970 and stood at 2.48 lakhs in 1983. We had a stock of scientific and technological manpower of about 1.9 lakhs in 1950–51. The figure for 1989–90 is close to 38 lakhs. Comparatively speaking, we are, as you all know, third in the stock of S & T personnel, coming only after the USA and the USSR. India occupies the fifth place in the world in the number of persons employed in S & T research and comes VII or VIII in the world and ranks only after the USA, UK, USSR, Germany, Japan, France and Canada in research publications.

We have certainly made a successful entry into the domain of high technology. In nuclear science, in electronics, in space technology, in missile research and in biotechnology our capability is commendable and above that of many of the European countries.

But quantity alone has ceased to be a measure of industrial success; quality matters. Quality and reliability of performance are so important that products can be competitive only on that basis. Here, we have a long way to go. I fear, in our eagerness to industrialize, we have not paid enough attention to these facets of technology. To be industrially successful, we must be globally competitive. There is no better way of competing than through quality. No more can we afford to isolate our industries from outside competition and pressures. I am confident that our industries will also succeed, once they realize the rich potential inherent in rising to meet such challenges.

I am bringing this issue to the fore, specially in an educational institution such as yours, as I firmly believe that quality consciousness must take root during engineering education and training. If we succeed in instilling the importance of quality, reliability and industrial design in the young minds in our universities, I am confident that coming generations of Indian engineers will not design a product or develop a process which is cumbersome and uncompetitive.

We need to take the benefits of the growth in industrial development and the fruits of science and technology to the people at large. Our efforts so far have helped to increase the productivity mainly in the organised sector which employs less than 15 per cent of our labour force. The bulk of the labour is in the unorganised sector. Their productivity must be increased. Science and technology must reach them and their living and working must reflect the development that the country has seen in industries and science and technology.

India is a country where almost all the three eras of human progress coexist. We have the agricultural era; the low technology era and the high technology era coexisting. For us today the Boeing is important: the bullock cart is also important. It has not yet outlived its utility. We have to ensure that modernization and increase in productivity are seen in the life and work of the agriculturist, the carpenter, the mason and other artisans.

The expectations from pioneering engineering institutions like yours will be even more demanding and the contributions even more highly prized

in the coming centuries than in the two glorious centuries that have gone by.

I am certain the Guindy College will rise to the occasion and I wish the College of Engineering, Guindy and Anna University every success in their efforts. As we prepare ourselves for the celebrations of the bicentenary, we may look back and review the path we have traversed, the problems we have faced and the strength we possess, and on the basis of our experience and understanding, look ahead into the immediate and distant future, and prepare ourselves for meeting the challenges that emerge and are visible on the horizon.

It is an opportunity to set new goals, charter new paths, and prepare ourselves to sustain and improve upon what we have inherited.

With these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating the bicentenary celebrations and wish your efforts all success.

Roots of Culture and Tradition

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I associate myself with the inauguration of the new building complex of the National Handicrafts and Handlooms Museum.

Etymologically the word 'craft' is derived from the Middle English word meaning 'skill' and the Old English word meaning 'strength'. And so this occasion is a tribute to Indian skill and strength, its talent and resilience. I am, therefore, thankful to the Union Ministry of Textiles for giving me an opportunity to honour and acknowledge the skills, ingenuity and accomplishments of successive generations of Indian craftspersons—a tradition which has preserved our cultural identity through the fluctuating fortunes of history.

This impressive museum complex contains galleries of our folk and tribal craftsmanship. This is particularly gratifying, as tribal and folk arts in any society represent its earliest artistic sensibility. Beginning with etchings and paintings inside caves and the fabrication of objects of utility with embellishments, these folk and tribal artefacts reflect man's latent artistic skills. These artistic skills later found expression in course of time in our festivals and ceremonies and led to the growth of ritual and theatrical arts. The patronage of royal houses led to the growth of courtly arts and the development of socio-economic structures gave further fillip to the proliferation of handicrafts.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that all these milestones in the journey of our crafts tradition have been painstakingly collected and kept on display in this Museum. As a repository of about 15,000 objects, this Museum is perhaps one of the largest and most variegated among museums in the whole world—an achievement for which the Government of India in the Ministry of Textiles and those in charge of this Museum deserve to be congratulated. The Museum has been fortunate enough to obtain the guidance and advice of experts like Smt. Pupul Jayakar, Shri L.C. Jain and Smt. Kapila Vatsyayan over the years. Its display galleries and visual stores are, of course, a reservoir of our artistic and cultural heritage. More significantly the Museum has served as a source material for the self-renewal, reproduction and the continuous development of our craftsmanship and weaving.

Particularly gratifying is the fact that every month craftspersons from all over India come to the Museum to demonstrate their skills for the benefit of urban and suburban populations, in particular children. The importance of this public exposure can hardly be overstressed.

I last visited this Museum in 1986 when the guardian angel of Indian handicrafts, the late Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, had invited me to inaugurate the Crafts-India programme organised by the Crafts Council of India and the National Handicrafts and Handlooms Museum. I would like to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to the memory of Kamaladeviji who not only invigorated our hand-crafting and hand-weaving traditions but also taught us something we had forgotten, namely, to honour our craftspersons. Kamaladeviji viewed crafts not with the superficial eye of a drawing room decorator but as one for whom crafts were the very breath of culture, a way of life. With uncanny insight, Kamaladeviji came to know the living and working conditions of artisans all over the country. A standard-bearer of revolution and justice, Kamaladeviji became a guardian angel of art and artisans. One other person who dedicated her life for preserving and promoting arts, crafts and craftpersons was Rukmini Devi, who was the first Honorary Patron of the Crafts Council of India. Her institutional child, Kalakshetra, was as much a *kshetra* for crafts as it was for the performing arts. The cultural presentations organized by her led to a flowering of handcrafted objects ranging from the simple *kolam*, the hand woven and *kalamkari* fabrics, to the magnificent *kootrambalam* built for theatrical performances.

We have for millennia used material objects, be they ever so humble as plain grass or as rarefied as *panchaloha* or precious gems, in a manner that fuses the physical with the metaphysical. Be it the humble potter using common clay or the master sculptor using the hard stone at Konarak, Mamallapuram, Elephanta or Mount Abu, the artist has invested each piece with charm, elegance and an ethical concept or mystic content offering a fertile field for research.

India's tradition of arts and crafts goes back over 5,000 years. Before the advent of the migrating, pastoral Aryans to India a thousand years before Christ, a well-settled urban civilisation flourished in different regions such as the Indus Valley, which has been dated to belong to 2500 BC. The Aryans

brought with them not just intellectual creations like beautiful poetry in the form of hymns dedicated to their gods but also technology, such as the knowledge of iron-smelting giving them the power of superior weapons and tools. This technology fused with that of the people who lived in our urban settlements and of the original inhabitants of India, the *adivasis*, living in the secluded forests and hills. A tapestry of multihued, many-fibred, strands has evolved over the centuries in India. Its ancient time-culture relationships, its tribal, peasant and urban strata have existed side by side in a continuum. Over time, our pastoral and agricultural, tribal and rural elements, have influenced each other, resulting in variegated and yet integrally connected traditions of mythology, folklore and the plastic arts.

Colonialism disrupted the continuities of our culture and vitiated our ethics. Our urban gentry became enamoured of western apparel, of western customs and manners, without realizing that in terms of antiquity and aesthetics what they were discarding was far superior to what they were adopting without even the saving grace of adaptation. We came to be cut off from our roots of culture and tradition. The freedom movement which spearheaded the national renaissance revived our languishing handicrafts, and revived the artistic instincts in all of us. Gandhiji organized khadi and village industries exhibitions throughout the country as part of our struggle for Independence and enjoined the All India Spinners Association Khadi stores to introduce village arts in towns. "After all", he said, "all true art can be expressed not through inanimate power-driven machinery, but only through the delicate living touch of the hands of men and women."

After Independence the appropriate emphasis on arts and artisans was restored and many of our ancient arts came to be consciously revived. It was my privilege as Minister in the then State of Madras to start a sculpture school at Mamallapuram, a school for production of icons at Swamimalai and others for *kalamkari* printing, for making temple cars etc. Similar efforts were made in other States at about the same time. All these efforts, with the assistance and guidance from the All India Handicrafts Board led to a revival of the dormant skills of artisans as also an interest in those arts themselves.

Today, our museums and, in particular, our crafts museums serve not only as an assemblage of rare pieces but as a measure and a promoter of excellence. Crafts museums are invaluable for craftsmen themselves and as a source for designers. Museums, therefore, are a living and creative link between us and our cultural heritage.

As pointed out by the renowned art-historian Ananda Coomaraswamy, the museum objects were not originally 'treasures' made to be seen in glass cases, but rather objects of daily use that could be bought and used by anyone. There is an erroneous impression that handicrafts serve only to satisfy the fancy for curios among the elite. Patronage may come—as it has in the past—from urban centres. But many of these handicrafts can be used even today in our modern life and should be encouraged in order that they may find a wider market and provide greater sustenance to our craftpersons.

It is gratifying that the National Handicrafts and Handlooms Museum

endeavours to link present-day craftspersons with their own past traditions and, at the same time, provide them with exposure to the urban clientele. I once again congratulate the Ministry of Textiles for creating this unique Institution addressed to the millions of craftspersons of this country to whom I now dedicate it with great pleasure.

V
MASS MEDIA

Recognizing Artistic Talent

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I associate myself with this pleasant function. May I extend my cordial felicitations to all the distinguished recipients of today's awards on their richly deserved recognition. Each one of them reflects talent and perseverance. Each one of them deserves the esteem of our society.

In olden times, the recognition of artistic talent was essentially, the prerogative of the royal court and the temple. Honours and prestige were bestowed by discriminating rulers like Akbar to artistes like Tansen. Likewise, temples such as the pre-eminent shrine at Tirupati created the position of the *asthana vidwan* enabling many an artiste to devote himself or herself to the practice of the fine arts, freed from mundane anxieties.

This salutary tradition, however, fell into disuse during the colonial interregnum when the culture of our land was sought to be systematically denigrated. Artistes began to languish in the remote towns and villages of India with the result that our performing arts, music, dance and drama, faced near extinction. Thanks to personalities like the late Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, Rukmini Devi Arundale and Dadasaheb Phalke who had made it their life-mission to revive the arts, our theatre and our cinema became an instrument of quality in our national renaissance.

Pioneering and enlightened film-makers like Dada Saheb Phalke, Mehboob, V. Shantaram, Bimal Roy, K. Subrahmanyam, S.S. Vasan, B.N. Reddy and others of calibre addressed national issues with concern and sensitivity. This tradition of cinema as a vehicle for national articulation has, happily, continued.

It is this tradition, of talent combined with national awareness, that is sought to be vouchsafed through the scheme of National Awards for films. The recipients of these awards representing different departments of cinema are honoured for their virtuosity as well as their concern for our collective sensibility.

We acknowledge their role with ungrudging admiration. But there is another entity, an unseen presence, which also needs to be acknowledged on this occasion. I refer to the audiences of India. As I have said on earlier occasions, the last but not the least award in the Awards functions really goes not to the film-makers or the film-actors but to the Indian film-goers. It is the increasing encouragement bestowed on the industry from the viewers of films in India, their high and everrising expectations for better and yet better films—that has enabled our film industry to travel thus far.

These film awards are a measure of the excellence of Indian cinema as perceived by our people through an eminent Jury. It not only provides an

opportunity to honour some of those leading personalities of the silver screen but also affords a forum for self-analysis by the film industry.

There has been in recent years a remarkable growth in the Indian cinema in volume and, to a very great extent, in quality. And yet, it cannot be denied that the film scene is beset with many obstacles for further growth in the desired directions.

The Government has been sympathetic to the representations of the film industry from time to time. It is gratifying that swift action has been taken in implementing an important recommendation of the high-powered committee set up to go into the problems of the film industry and, as a result, excise duty on release prints has been completely withdrawn. It is hoped that this measure will be a significant step in combating the video-piracy which is eating into the legitimate income of the film-makers.

However, though the Government can act from outside, the film industry which is overwhelmingly in the private sector, has to act from within to overcome many of its problems.

I am glad that recently some steps have been taken in this direction. There has been a ceiling imposed on the number of films our male and female protagonists can undertake at the same time. I learn that there is also another move to ensure that the home and commercial video rights and other rights of the feature films are also assigned simultaneously when the contract is signed for theatrical release.

The film medium now encounters stiff competition. Competition for scarce resources, and also for the small leisure time available to the majority of our people, along with the burgeoning medium of TV, the home video, the video-parlours and to a certain extent the cable TV.

But I am nonetheless confident that this resilient medium will continue to provide wholesome entertainment to the majority of our people for many more years to come. I say this because films are and will remain the country's most spreadout medium of communication. They penetrate the farthest corners and reach every section of society. The industry must, therefore, take it upon itself to serve as a lighthouse of values.

These values, to my mind, are essentially the values of restraint, of moderation, of concord. Cinematic entertainment ought not to be at the expense of values; box office successes ought not to be won by pandering to base instincts. We have had a surfeit, in our films, of the twin obsessions of sex and violence. The cinema must redeem itself from these two temptations which are also a trap and a vicious circle. The time has surely come when the film industry must realize that moral and ethical values command as high a priority as the box office.

As I have stressed on earlier occasions, it is necessary that this social imperative is recognized within the industry. No restraint, howsoever well-administered, can be a substitute for self-restraint, no pair of scissors as effective as the film industry's own.

There is another role that needs to be performed by the cinema. Our secular and peaceable way of life face threats from the forces of disruption.

Sinister forces are working overtime to divide us and thereby weaken the nation. I believe that these forces can be countered by the cinema. Much has been done by the film industry already in this direction. But the problems now faced by the country are so pressing that the task has assumed unparalleled urgency. May I suggest that passages regarding peace and communal amity be skilfully woven into the themes or plots without appearing to be didactic. Every film must, alongside with its tense and dramatic situations, carry an inner undercurrent of relevance to the pressing social issues of our times.

This year's crop of films has yielded a number of contemporary issues for further reflection. We have had a glorious and almost uninterrupted folk tradition which is now in for a shock treatment with its interface with the recent trends in every field of art. I am sure the theme of this year's best feature film, *Bagh Bahadur* will have a far wider universal appeal. Every effort should be made to preserve and enrich our folk heritage against the onslaught of modernism.

The Karbi film, *Wosobipo*, selected for Indira Gandhi Award for the best first film of a director, will also fall into this category and this depicts the responses of our hill-tribes being drawn into the vortex of modern times. The Malayalam film, awarded for the treatment of the social issues, has taken up the relevant issue of the unemployed and the unemployable youth. The struggle for preserving our forest wealth and the growing problems of urbanization and lack of accommodation for even nuclear families are some of the other issues dealt in this year's package.

One noteworthy feature this year has been that the best feature film *Bagh Bahadur* has been sponsored by Doordarshan. I hope this healthy interaction between film makers and Doordarshan will yield greater satisfaction during the years to come.

The National Film Development Corporation has retained its primary role of promoting good cinema and this year, it has contributed the best feature film in Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi and Punjabi.

It is a matter of special happiness that Lata Mangeshkar is now joining the galaxy of winners of the prestigious Dada Saheb Phalke Award. Many honours have come her way in recognition of the yeoman service of Lataji to the Indian film industry and Indian music. Cinema is teamwork but there have been occasions when she has carried the entire film solely on her mellifluous singing. The Indian film music scene would have been poorer but for her contributions.

Before I conclude I would like to record my appreciation of the work of the three juries. The feature film Jury can derive satisfaction from the fact that they have been able to identify new talent this year also. May I once again congratulate all the award winners and wish them many years of creative activity in the field of Indian cinema.

Evolution of Indian Cinema

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to participate in this pleasant function. I extend my sincere felicitations to the recipients of the 38th National Film Awards this year. They have, each one of them, earned the award through sustained and skilful service to the film world. They represent talent of a very high order. The nation is proud of them.

Ours is now the biggest film industry in the world. This is no mean achievement in a world where countries like the USA, UK, Japan, France and Italy have had formidable cinematic sinews. But quantity and scale are not our only strength. The quality of Indian cinema has been certified by these eminent juries who have painstakingly sifted through a mass of material and reached their conclusions.

The people of India and the silver screen have had a long and cherished partnership. It is now seventy-seven years since the first Indian feature film *Raja Harishchandra* produced by Dadasaheb Phalke was released in Bombay. That was a breakthrough in the fullest sense of the term. It was a truly Indian enterprise, though with Western technology to tell an Indian story. It immediately caught the imagination of the Indian people.

The Indian film industry has not looked back since then. Over the years, several film-makers of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta have made substantial contributions to the evolution of Indian cinema both as a popular vehicle for mass entertainment as well as a medium for artistic expression of the various facets of the human predicament. The names of some of pioneering film-makers such as Sohrab Modi, S.S. Vasan, K. Subrahmanyam, A.V. Meyyappan, Mehboob Khan, V. Shantharam, Bimal Roy, Prithviraj Kapoor, L.V. Prasad and Nagi Reddy come to mind. These stalwarts contributed not just to the expansion of the film industry but, through their aesthetic films, to the revival of the Indian arts, music, dance, drama and cultural traditions.

The rise of the cinema in India synchronized with the national struggle for freedom. It became a powerful medium for stirring the instincts of patriotism and furthering social reform. Mythological heroes appeared on the screen and spoke to the people in a language of their own. The spirit of nationalism kindled by Gandhiji and reflected in the films of the day, evoked great popular enthusiasm. The yearning for a cultural renaissance and the rejuvenation of our art forms like dance, drama and theatre were considered part and parcel of our struggle for emancipation. The famous comedian couple of the Tamil screen, N.S. Krishnan—T.A. Mathuram, stormed into most villages in Tamil Nadu in the forties articulating patriotic fervour. I cannot forget—nobody of my generation can forget—films such as *Thyagabhoomi*. The film was banned from the silver screen by the British.

But it etched itself in people's hearts. At the same time, elsewhere in the country, persons with diverse talents such as the singer-actor K.L. Saigal and Devika Rani became household names. Artistes like the late Prithviraj Kapoor, Sohrab Modi, Durga Khote and Balraj Sahni became known nationally—transcending linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Indian film-makers, have developed, over the years, an exceptional talent for combining the artistic merit of their work with socially significant themes. In this, the work of the pioneers has been followed up by modern directors of international class such as Satyajit Ray and Mrinal Sen.

A glance through the award-winners for this year will show that a large percentage of film-makers have turned their attention to themes highlighting the problems of women, the poor, the oppressed, their emancipation and rehabilitation, their joys and sorrows and the tragedies in their life. Others have highlighted the problems connected with the struggle for justice, and the mentally handicapped, while still others have striven to convey the messages of the visionaries who have always appeared in this great land in every age to guide and lead its people.

The efforts of all these film-makers, with their diverse concerns, are reflection of the conviction they share about the power of cinema as a mass medium which can not only entertain, educate and inform, but also influence human conduct for the improvement of society itself.

Art, in my opinion, should give to the people not merely what they relish or want but also what, in the general interest, they should receive.

The constant exposure to the twin obsessions, sex and violence, must end. These have been found to damage society irreparably. Researches have established a direct correlation between violence in society and those depicted on the screen. If the public is exposed to an unremitting depiction of crime they cannot but get desensitized to it over a period of time. Juvenile delinquency in advanced countries is attributable to a large extent to the constant display of crime and violence in films and TV.

Entertainment must never be at the expense of values; box office successes ought not to be won by pandering to base instincts. As I have stressed on earlier occasions, it is necessary that this social imperative is recognized within the industry.

It has given me immense pleasure to see that the country's highest recognition in the field of cinema—the Phalke Award—has gone this year to a person who has served the film industry for nearly fifty years with exemplary dedication: Akkineni Nageswara Rao. A.N.R., as he is popularly known has carved for himself a very special niche in the world of Indian cinema, not only because of the tremendous success he has achieved as one of our most versatile actors, but also because of his role as a leading producer. Moreover, he has endeared himself to the people by his many benevolent and charitable acts, especially in the field of education. I would like to extend my heartiest congratulations and good wishes to him.

I would like to specially felicitate the eminent Director, Shri Tapan Sinha on his receiving the award for Best Direction; Sri Amitabh Bacchan and Ms

Vijaya Shanti on the best actor and best actress awards. It gives me particular pleasure to extend my congratulations to the child artistes, Baby Shruti, Master Taran and Baby Shyamili. The melody queen, Lata Mangeshkar and Sri M.G. Sreekumar of the Malayalam screen have received the highest awards for playback singing representing both the continuity and self-renewing vigour of our film music. I would like to make a special mention of the fact that the award for the best feature film in Malayalam goes to the film *Vastuhara*, which was directed by the late Aravindan. His premature demise has robbed Indian cinema of a director of rare sensitivity. The award winning feature film *Marupakkam* is a sensitive portrayal of subtle emotion and has been very delicately portrayed.

There was some apprehension that the advent of the TV and the video might cut into the film industry. There were grim forecasts about the future of Indian cinema. These fears have been proved incorrect. Today the average daily attendance in our 13,000 cinema houses in the country is estimated at around three crores—a monumental figure. The chances are that the film industry will make even greater progress thanks to the continuous technological development towards achieving perfection in every department connected with the industry.

With these words I once again congratulate all the award-winners who have excelled in their different chosen fields. My best wishes to all of them.

Reel Life Must Conform to Real Life

I AM HAPPY to participate once again in the inauguration of the 39th National Film Festival.

We meet today in the shadow of gloom caused by the demise of the giant among film-makers. Satyajit Ray is no longer amidst us. In his death the world of cinema has lost one of its rarest jewels. From *Pather Panchali* to *Agantuk*, which has most fittingly received the award for the best feature film in 1991, we see a canvas of cinematic craftsmanship truly amazing in the universality of its appeal, its deep humanism, and the sheer excellence of the skills that go to make artistically inspiring cinema. It is perhaps less known today, that when Ray began his crusade to make his first film *Pather Panchali*, as many as thirty distributors said 'no' to financing it. But with the uncanny confidence of creative genius, Ray, overcoming all odds, persisted with his project, and the film was completed in 1954. From then onwards, in a remarkable career spanning three decades, he gave us a succession of films,

portraying a myriad range of emotions and themes, which put India firmly on the map of the most competitive film world.

It is one of my lasting regrets that due to his illness I was unable to personally present him the nation's highest award—the Bharat Ratna. In bestowing on him today—alas posthumously—the award of best direction for the film *Agantuk*, we are honouring his invaluable contribution to the film industry of India. Our best homage to him would be to ensure that the richness of his legacy continues to inspire succeeding generations of our country's film-makers.

It is almost 80 years since India's first film—Dada Saheb Phalke's *Raja Harishchandra*—mesmerized audiences in our country. By the 1920s, our film industry had already gained a premier position in the film world. With the advent of sound in 1920, Indian film production took a quantum leap forward. For the last one decade, India has remained the largest producer of feature films in the world. In the year 1991, nine hundred and ten films were produced in 18 languages. An estimated daily audience of 1.5 crores saw these films in around 13,000 theatres in the country. In addition to the video outlets and Cable TV systems, Doordarshan's network telecast every week, about half a dozen feature films round the year.

Art and culture are inextricably bound with society. Reel life must conform to real life. The films of the 40s and 50s, characterized by imaginative and dramatic entertainment, were inspired by the writings of literary giants like Rabindranath Tagore, Munshi Premchand and other eminent litterateurs of vision, and boldly tackled several social issues of importance. It is heartening that many of our enlightened films have laid stress on national integration, communal harmony and inequities in the social fabric. There is no greater powerful medium to expose the society's wrongs than the well laid film.

People have often expressed resentment against the tendency of some of our film-makers to portray scenes of excessive violence and sex, which are pointless and avoidable, apart from being unaesthetic. Such scenes even if necessary could be delicately suggestive and not explicit. Gruesome sights of blood and sex do not always draw audiences and these may be even counter-productive. The Government has revised the guidelines to the Central Board of Film Certification a few months back for taking effective steps to curb such objectionable scenes. But I would prefer voluntary action by the producers themselves.

It is sometimes said that the success of a film is determined by the box office receipts. Nobody can deny that the film-maker has a legitimate right to have his eyes on the box office. However, he cannot, in this process, abdicate his role as an artist. True, merely pontifical and didactic productions cannot enthuse or entertain an audience. But the creative genius of a film producer lies in his ability to present moral and social values in an engrossing and alluring way. I am sure that the captains of the film industry will adapt themselves to the public opinion in this regard.

I have observed that most of the films produced in developed countries have an optimum running duration of around 90 minutes. In stark contrast,

our films quite often tend to drag on tediously. I would like to appeal to our film makers to ponder over the matter. Shorter films imply reduction in production costs. More shows at theatres can be organized enabling more viewers to see them, apart from their meshing well within the limited time slots of television networks. Such considerations are even more relevant today when cinema has to compete with other demanding and increasingly intrusive media such as TV, Home Video and now Cable TV.

Our film-makers must also endeavour to keep up with the latest changes in technology in the world. Film technology is advancing at a rapid pace. The engineering part of film production is as important as the artistic part of the play. Very often technical excellence creates a sub-conscious attraction and scores over other minor deficiencies. Our Ministry of Information and Broadcasting could perhaps assist in supporting the film industry in its drive to achieve technological excellence.

The Dada Saheb Phalke Award has, since its inception in 1969, honoured a galaxy of extremely eminent film personalities. To this illustrious list we add today the name of Shri Bhalji Pendharkar, who, in his early career was in fact an active colleague of Dada Saheb Phalke. Shri Pendharkar can rightly be regarded as one of the founding fathers of the cine industry in India. His contribution to the development of Marathi cinema has, in particular, been monumental. Like many cinematic greats, he has effortlessly assimilated in himself more than one artistic faculty, being producer, director, writer, lyricist and screenplay writer. In the sixty films he has made, many of which date back to the silent era, we see a rich wave of the enduring values of Indian culture and civilization. I offer my felicitations to Sri Pendharkar on his winning the prestigious award.

Documentaries, which have been defined by one film-maker as 'the creative treatment of actuality' constitute a very important genre of film making. I am happy to note that this year's festival has brought forth a rich crop of excellent documentaries, intrepidly chronicling a wide variety of themes, from the vicissitudes of an endangered tribe on the banks of the river Brahmaputra—which is the subject of this year's winner of the best non-feature film award—to issues of ecology and environment, the condition of women, and art and culture.

I would like to specially felicitate Yesudas and Vani Jayaram, for receiving this year's highest award for playback singing. Their mellifluous and highly trained voices have long added lustre to the best traditions of Indian film music. It also gives me great pleasure to felicitate Master Santosh Reddy, who has deservedly won the award of best child artiste, for his endearing performance of a smart street child in the Telgu film *Bhadram Koduko*. In paying tribute to Mohanalal, who has won the best actor award for his performance in the Malayalam film *Bharatham*, and to Moloya Goswami for her award winning performance in the Assamese film *Firingoti*, I also take due cognizance of the outstanding contribution being made across the spectrum by films in our regional languages.

The death of many outstanding film personalities in the last year has left us

poorer. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to that doyen of Indian actresses and a former Phalke award winner, Durga Khote. We have also suffered a grievous loss in the untimely demise of the consummate actress Nutan.

I would like to end by congratulating not only those who have won awards today, but also those who took part in the competition. The significant factor this time is that a number of young and new film-makers have made their entries, giving the competition a distinct flavour of freshness. I have not the slightest doubt that the National Film Awards from their inception in 1954, have yielded rich dividends in the recognition of cinematic talent in both the artistic and the technical fields. May I also take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the hard work and discrimination displayed by the eminent members of the jury.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the 39th National Film Festival.

VI
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Making Science More Humane

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I associate myself, once again, with the annual Jawaharlal Nehru Science Exhibition for children. I would like to convey my thanks to the Ministry of Human Resource Development for inviting me to inaugurate this Exhibition, thereby enabling me to continue my association with this series.

Having inaugurated the Exhibition in Jammu last year and in Jabalpur the year before, I am aware of the immense good which these Exhibitions do. The enthusiasm with which children participate in the programme and put up the Exhibition vindicates the imaginative decision of the National Council of Educational Research and Training to hold these Exhibitions for children and by children. This programme has now become a national movement which fosters and sustains a scientific temper among our younger generation.

A cherished partnership marks the three ingredients of the title of this Exhibition series, namely, Nehru, Science and Children. All three, Nehru, Science and Children, represent, in a word, progress. Nehru foresaw a modern India shorn off its mediaevalism, feudalism and religious bigotry. This could be done only by developing a spirit of enquiry, imagination and enterprise among the young untrammelled minds of our nation.

Nehru once said about children: "There are barriers of religion, of caste, of colour, of party, of nation, of province, of language, of customs, and of rich and poor. Fortunately, children do not know much about these barriers which separate. They play or work with each other, and it is only when they grow up that they begin to learn about these barriers from their elders."

I am sure that the children associated with this venture, when they grow up into adulthood, will be free from those barriers. It is the hallmark of enlightened adults that they dismantle man-made barriers so as to progress towards their destiny as responsible earth citizens.

I am glad this Exhibition is taking place in Hyderabad this year. I am always delighted to be in this city and in Andhra Pradesh which are notable for their quality of synthesis. North meets South here, even as the Arts meet Science. Science found ancient expression here in the engineering and maritime marvels of the Vijayanagar Empire, while fleets sailed across the seas from Andhra's shores in early times. Likewise, in modern Andhra are located some of our leading scientific installations and research centres such as the National Remote Sensing Agency, the Atomic Minerals Division as also the Nuclear Fuel Complex, while modern space vessels have soared heavenwards from Sriharikota.

It was from the Andhra University in Waltair that Sarvepalli Radhakrish-

nan, as Vice-Chancellor, invited Sir C.V. Raman to set its science studies in motion. And it was in Andhra Pradesh that one of India's first departments of nuclear physics was set up, with Prof. Gnananandam as its head. To Andhra, again, belong the noted scientists, the late Dr Nayudamma and Dr Bhagavantam. The efforts of these pioneers have been sustained by younger scientists, both in the 'pure' and 'applied' fields.

I am sure the children participating in this Exhibition will see in these connections between the past and present of Indian science, a clue to India's self-renewing genius.

I would like the children participating in this Exhibition should learn that youths in ancient India were also initiated into the exact sciences, as part of a cycle of education and training. They were made part of the then prevailing spirit of national enquiry. Ancient India as you are all aware made substantial and critical contributions to human knowledge in several pioneering areas. To cite some instances:

India knew the planetary system and its movements centuries before Christ, as the accurate prediction of solar and lunar eclipses proves;

The decimal place—value system of counting with nine digits and zero originated in India;

The psycho-somatic system of medicine known as Ayurveda (now being increasingly turned to in the West) owes its birth to India;

Surgical operations including plastic surgery were known to be practised in India and replicas of sharp surgical instruments described by Susruta are a marvel of human ingenuity;

Copper and bronze artefacts dating back to 2000 BC and the famous rust-free iron pillar of Delhi are, similarly, proofs of ancient India's highly developed metallurgical skills;

The process of distillation in chemistry was discovered in India in the first century AD. But our progress in science was halted due to the colonial interregnum.

Outstanding minds containing within themselves the genius of our ancient perceptions coupled with modern training, once again, blossomed within our society.

Alongside the great political awakening of the 19th and 20th centuries, there also took place a great mental and intellectual awakening. In the South emerged personalities like Srinivasa Ramanujan and C.V. Raman. In the East, rose J.C. Bose, P.C. Ray, S.N. Bose and Meghnad Saha, capturing the imagination of our people. After Independence a new thrust and emphasis was given to science thanks to the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru. As Prime Minister, he consciously developed a science and technology base which could serve as a launching pad for the socio-economic transformation of India. Nehru said once: "It is science alone that can solve the problem of hunger and poverty. The future belongs to science and to those who make friends with science...."

Our achievements in science and technology are for all to see. The most

significant achievement of science application has, of course, been in the agricultural front where from a total production of about 50 million tonnes of foodgrains in 1950, we now produce around 170 million tonnes.

A range of industries from the small to the most sophisticated has been established covering wide areas of utilities, services and goods. There is now a reservoir of expertise well acquainted with the most modern advances in basic and applied areas that is equipped to make choices between available technologies, to absorb readily new technologies and provide a framework for future national development.

In the matter of nuclear energy we are now not only acknowledged as pioneers in the exploration and mining nuclear minerals, preparation of high purity nuclear materials but also in the designing and construction of power reactors, together with their control systems, the production of heavy water and of safety instrumentation.

With the launching of our satellites Aryabhata, Bhaskara I and II, Rohini and the INSAT series, we are in the world's space club.

Be it the manufacture of diesel locomotives, aircraft or frigates, be it the drilling of offshore oil, the exploration of Antarctica, the harnessing of non-conventional energy resources or be it the production of radio isotopes used in agriculture, medicine and industry, India today is humming with scientific application.

This momentum has to be continued. And for that, it will be necessary for all those in charge of science education in schools to harness the young active minds to the rapid progress that is taking place in science and technology. The content of science education in schools must respond to the changes by periodic curricular updating. The science teaching in schools should not be a doling out of a fixed set of information. Science teaching should set in motion a chain reaction: it should teach children to 'learn how to learn'. This process of 'learning to learn' implies training the students not only to use libraries and laboratories but also to marshal data, draw inferences, test hypotheses and draw conclusions. Science education must stimulate thought and creativity in children. An elaborate infrastructure is not necessary for this. The teacher should make intense use of elements from the local environment for this purpose. A child's surroundings is the ideal educational laboratory. If that laboratory is to be fully made use of, the school should be in close touch with the community and the realities of everyday life.

But more important than all this is the need for our children and youth to understand that the application of science and technology must remain consistent with those finer human values for which our society has been noted.

The use of science for the furtherance of human welfare and not for human annihilation should be inculcated in the minds of young scientists. The application of science has led to the elimination of drudgery, improvement in physical health and social environs and to the broadening of one's sights. Science is criticized for expanding materialism, weapons of destruction and

accentuating disparity between humans. But the fault does not lie with science but rather with the way it is directed and utilized.

Ancient science was never at cross purposes with man's spirit or with nature. Modern science will, therefore, have to ensure that its applications do not contain any disturbing consequences such as the degradation of the environment and the endangering of human life.

Science and Man, which is the theme of your Exhibition, will, therefore, have to be both mutually supportive. As man becomes progressively more scientific, science will have to be progressively more humane.

I take this opportunity to congratulate the National Council of Educational Research and Training on their continuous efforts in promoting the cause of science in schools. And I compliment the people and the Government of Andhra Pradesh on their efforts to make this Exhibition a success.

I have great pleasure in declaring the Jawaharlal Nehru National Science Exhibition for Children open.

Keeping Pace with Modern Technology

I AM DELIGHTED to participate in the inauguration of the main campus building of the Engineering Staff College of India. I would like, on this happy occasion, to convey my warm felicitations to all those associated with the College since its inception in 1981.

This College has served as a premier institution to undertake the most important task of providing continuing education to our engineers, so as to help them update their knowledge and remove the malady of obsolescence that is inevitable in the fast developing technological arena.

Engineering and technology are like two banks of the river of a country's development. They shape the course of progress.

As you are aware, the period from the beginning of the century to Independence in 1947 was, for India, one of marginal growth—with only an increase of 1.2 per cent per annum on a very low base of G.N.P. Our agriculture which was organized on a feudal system followed archaic practices. Our food production in 1951 was a mere 50 million tonnes for a population of 360 million. A common feature of the rural economy was the recurrence of famines. Agro-based industries like cotton, jute and sugar dominated the industrial scene. We faced acute shortages of resources, raw material, skills and enterprise.

Technologically, we had largely missed out on the industrial revolution.

Our traditional village and cottage industries were on the decline. We imported everything, from safety pins to locomotives. India was among the most poor and backward nations of the world with a large population. Life expectancy at birth was only 32 years. India had thus before it, the challenge of encompassing the development of over a century, possibly in a generation, by leap-frogging in industry, science and technology.

Thanks to the vision and foresight of Jawaharlal Nehru, when India attained Independence, she adopted a Constitution which enshrined the fundamental rights of the citizen as well as the Directive Principles of State Policy embodying the socio-economic goals of the nation. A strategy of development came to be outlined in the very First Five Year Plan. In keeping with these social and economic goals, India's Five Year Plans for national development have aimed at the following set of more specific objectives;

1. Rapid growth of national income so as to raise the standard of living of the people;
2. Rapid industrialization and in particular development of basic and heavy industries;
3. Self-reliance in resources, technology, food and other basic materials;
4. Creation of employment opportunities for taking care of the backlog of unemployment and the growing labour force;
5. Reduction of inequalities of incomes and wealth and balanced regional development; and
6. Alleviation of poverty and taking care of basic minimum needs including health and education through direct Government action.

Jawaharlal Nehru realized that human progress depended on the application of science and technology to every department of activity, be it agriculture, industry, transport or communications. And scientific advance depended on basic and applied research. He, therefore, established a number of research laboratories like the National Physical Laboratory, chemical, metallurgical, electro-chemical and numerous other research organizations. To promote technical skills several Institutes of Technology, Regional Engineering Colleges, Polytechnics and Industrial Training Institutes came to be established during that time.

Jawaharlal Nehru knew that the industrialization of a country depended not so much on raw materials and capital as on technological skills. Judged in terms of resources, Japan, for instance, is poor. It has no iron ore, coal, or oil, none of the basic raw materials needed for industrial development. And yet Japan is today the foremost industrialized country in the world. It imports all the raw materials and then converts them into products of high value and markets them at competitive prices. The case of Germany is also similar. Once when I was in Germany I asked a research organisation how it was that they in Germany could rebuild a country devastated by war within a period of one single decade. They answered that though the war had destroyed their factories, power plants and communications, the war had not and could not destroy their skills and that it was with their technical skills that they are able

to rebuild the most modern new plants. It is technological skill that has brought Japan and Germany to the forefront of industrialization.

It is that technological skill that we must assiduously foster in India. If the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century was 'mechanical' the Industrial Revolution we are now passing through is electronic. The substitution of manual calculations, memory and measurements by electronic devices has revolutionized activities in every sphere. Here again Japan has taken a lead. The modern miracle, 'the computer', is fast replacing earlier instruments and is becoming all pervasive. A new vista of software services opens itself before the present generation, offering enormous scope for employment. I am sure the country as a whole will be able to take advantage of the immense opportunities offered in this field. There is also an excellent scope for export of software to the countries with relatively low manpower. I am afraid that this vast opportunity has not been tapped by us. We have necessary skills to capture the software market if we seriously go about it.

A glance at our international trade reveals the rapid strides that India has made towards self-reliance—strides that hold great promise for our future. Our imports are now primarily limited to basic raw materials like non-ferrous metals, sulphur phosphates, etc. while our exports consist substantially of manufactured goods of various kinds including a variety of machinery and engineering goods. Sophisticated technologies have been absorbed and adapted to meet local needs. There are also some outstanding examples of technologies developed within the country.

But notwithstanding the positive factors, our trade deficit is widening and threatens to erode our fiscal system. There is an imperative need to re-examine our imports and prune them drastically. While imports that accelerate exports should be given the highest consideration, imports that go into items of mere domestic consumption have to be cut drastically.

Import of technology is no doubt necessary for accelerated growth. Developing countries need not spend time, money and energy to rediscover known developments in the world. It is absurd to start once again with the James Watt's kettle and go through the same process centuries later. But having obtained the technology we should try to innovate and improve upon it so as to keep pace with the rapid developments in the world. Unless this is done, our technology will become obsolete and will lead to recurrent imports of every improvement in technology that takes place in the world.

I am sure that engineers and technologists gathered here will appreciate the point that while India has been able to absorb and even adapt imported technology, its record of innovation and improvement leaves something to be desired, with the result that repetitive imports of every improvement abroad have become necessary. It is upto the research and teaching institutions like this and universities to offer the corrective to the situation.

Education trains the mind to release the creative impulses and expressions in an individual, and gives him a skill to create wealth for himself and the nation. This constant harmony between individual's goals and nation's needs must be one of the corner-stones of any educational process. I consider

training as an effective instrument for the potential growth of an individual, of a society. In an age of science and technology and bewildering pace of change this becomes all the more imperative.

I am glad that the Institution of Engineers (India), through its various programmes and particularly through the Engineering Staff College of India, is playing its role in this direction. Being one of the largest professional engineering bodies in the world, its inter-disciplinary approach to problems is well seen by the number of its constituent divisions giving the character of federation of engineering disciplines. This makes it an excellent vehicle to realise the technological, economic and prosperity goals of our country's development.

Unfortunately, there is no linkage between universities and technological institutions and the industry. Having lived in a sheltered sellers' market, without either internal or external competition, the urge to cut costs, improve productivity and quality has been missing. Consequently the painstaking work in our universities and laboratories remains largely dormant without finding application in the production of goods and services. This phenomenon has also led to a sense of frustration among research scientists as the results of their research are ignored by Industry. Industry has done relatively little by way of promoting in-house research and development activities. The massive investments we have made in research laboratories and higher technical institutions will be wasted unless the industry refer their problems to them for solution and interact with them.

Knowledge, particularly scientific and technological is advancing at a rapid pace. To consolidate this knowledge, to build bridges between theory and practice and transfer it to the ground to give concretized structures and to cater to the social needs is a stupendous task. We, therefore, need professional bodies like Institution of Engineers (India) and Engineering Staff College of India.

I would also like to refer to another area which needs attention. Our scientists have very largely followed the stream of research that had been undertaken in the West. The West carried on research on materials available to them and turned them into wealth. But in India research on the raw materials available in the country is inadequate. Contrast this with what our ancients had done on the herbs and flora of our land and produced an Ayurveda. There is nothing like waste in the world. Bauxite was clay before science turned it into aluminium and iron ore mere rubble before it was made into steel. It is said that not a grain lies in the beach but infinite knowledge knows how to utilise it. We should, therefore, strive more purposefully to utilise indigenous materials.

I know the constraints on research work in India. But pessimism is no cure for poverty. Sir M. Visvesvarayya after whom your office building is named, did not command vast resources. Among researchers, C.V. Raman, P.C. Ray and others of that calibre functioned from simple, even frugal, circumstances. The culture of rueing our lack of resources has to change. If technological innovation cannot overcome the resource crunch it loses its very meaning. To

act under the shadow of constraint and crunch should be a challenge and an opportunity to give one's best. We all know how engineers of many nations have risen to meet the oil shock.

Mere abundance of raw materials and capital resources cannot achieve results unless there is sound management. The capacity to husband resources effectively and to stretch every rupee to bring maximum benefit, is the function of sound management. The term technocrat has gained currency throughout the world because technologists have acquired skills in management so as to derive maximum advantage in the creation of wealth. In western countries engineers qualifying in other disciplines like economics is fairly common. Our universities should help their alumni to study any combination of subjects that the pupil wants instead of requiring them to go through a regimented course study.

I understand that this College's programmes are a mix of management and technology upgradation, a combination which is truly commendable.

Above all, it should be the endeavour of each one to achieve excellence in the field of his operation. One has to take pride in work and decide to do nothing but one's honest best. This cannot be done unless one keeps continuously in touch with the latest advances in techniques and absorbs them in time. I am very happy to know that this college is trying to provide continuous support to its alumni in terms of advice and guidance and also act as a technological interface and park.

Those that come here have the benefit of the most modern education. They possess an IQ far higher than many peoples of the world. It behoves them, therefore, to harness their capabilities to building up a prosperous India.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the campus of the Engineering Staff College and wish the institution perennial success.

A Massive Stride in Veterinary Research

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with you on the auspicious occasion of the centenary of the Indian Veterinary Research Institute. This is a momentous event for this Institute and I would like to felicitate all those connected with the Institute—scientists, teachers, extension workers, students and staff. I would also like to add a special word of congratulations to those who are receiving their Doctorate degrees today.

The IVRI—as your institute is popularly known—has made significant contributions to the field of veterinary research, education and extension.

The scientific investigations of all the problems connected with livestock improvement undertaken at the IVRI are acknowledged as being substantial. As you are all aware, this Institute, which was christened as the Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory, started with the mandate limited to the geographical survey of contagious diseases and development of preventive measures. Its work grew apace over time and it was rechristened as the Indian Veterinary Research Institute in 1947. From a modest beginning, the Institute has now expanded its activities manifold with a number of campuses and regional stations. It is now the largest organisation in the country for purposes of conducting research on cattle-diseases, nutrition, artificial insemination and cognate matters. With the conferring of the 'deemed university' status in 1983, this Institute has now started offering postgraduate degrees in various disciplines of veterinary sciences. All these are creditable milestones.

It is difficult to build institutional reputations as the IVRI has done; it is even more difficult to sustain them. An occasion such as an institution's centenary provides an opportunity to take stock of the distance traversed and of the institutional goals that lie ahead. Continuous re-examination of the bases of its activity and a reappraisal of its work are essential for an organization. Alertness to the changing demands of the institution's theme and mandate is also a must, since the context in which institutes are set up, keeps changing with the passage of time.

Man and animals have depended on each other since time immemorial. Centuries and millennia before he became a farmer, man was mainly pastoral in his activities. The world's pastures were used by wildlife and man, the hunter and the food-gatherer. Slowly they were shared by the herds of pastoral man. With the advent of civilization the pastoral economy gradually transformed into an agricultural economy, with livestock rearing forming a major component. As the Mohenjodaro seals show, human and bovine settlements were complementary and mutually dependent for several centuries in our part of the world.

Not surprisingly, animals came to be accorded a place of importance in our country. It was recognized that animals played not just a supportive but a vital role in our socio-economic and cultural life. Agriculture being the most important economic activity in this country, livestock became synonymous with livelihood. Cattle provided—and continue to provide—the required motive power for various agricultural operations and also manure for fields.

It was, therefore, only natural that veterinary medicine should have occupied a place of considerable importance throughout our history. We had, even in ancient times, a most sophisticated veterinary system. Johnston Saint of the Historical Museum of London has recorded: "India was veritably an apotheosis of the animal world and even the most irreverent layman would see (in ancient Indian Medical and Veterinary Literature) the distinct forerunner of all the scientific and surgical marvels of today".

This observation is confirmed by the fact that we have been able to lay our hands on a number of early treatises on veterinary science. Palakapya, the

well-known ancient surgeon, wrote on the art of breeding and treating elephants, describing ten kinds of sharp instruments required for use in surgery including the *Simha-mukha-swastika*, namely, lion-faced forceps, the modern version of which is the lion forceps. Another famous ancient treatise is the *Shalihotra* by Nakula, one of the five Pandavas. It has remained an authority on the treatment of the diseases of horses, not only for centuries but for millennia. In his classical treatise, *Description of Hindustan*, Hamilton gives a fascinating description of a veterinary hospital set up during the reign of Ashoka, the Great. Again we find early references to the treatment of water creatures.

The place of pride accorded to the veterinary science in ancient times received a revival when, in the last century, the veterinary science acquired the distinction of being the first scientific discipline for which the Government of India considered it necessary to set up a central research laboratory. It was on this day in 1889 that a central institute—The Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory—for veterinary research was established in Pune as a sequel to the recommendations of the Indian Cattle Plague Commission which was set up in 1869 to study the devastating plagues occurring in India and other British colonies. You are all aware of the subsequent transformation of that body into the Indian Veterinary Research Institute in 1947.

I am happy to learn that the Institute has by now a number of remarkable achievements to its credit. The discoveries of the goat-adapted Rinderpest vaccine and the R2B vaccine against Ranikhet disease have enabled the country to control cattle plague and the Ranikhet disease. Research at the Institute has also helped in combating the African Horse Sickness, a much-feared disease in the subcontinent. Your project on the use of nuclear techniques for diagnosis and control, taken up with the assistance of International Atomic Energy Agency under the United Nations Development Programme, has helped the development of irradiated lungworm vaccine for small ruminants.

All these are notable developments and signify progress in unmistakable terms. But, as I said earlier, an institute of this type cannot rest on its oars. It must ask itself whether what it has done is adequate. Such introspection, will reveal the vast area still to be explored. We have nearly one-seventh of the world's livestock and our bovine population increased from 292 million in 1951 to 420 million in 1982. But while we have the largest cattle population in the world, our per capita availability of milk and other animal products remains low. This is perhaps because the organisation for livestock development has been largely 'veterinary dominated' and oriented to 'disease control'. Happily, of late, there has been a change in the situation and more and more qualified animal husbandry personnel have been coming forward to implement livestock development projects. We now have a large infrastructure to provide prophylactic and curative health cover. At present, the number of veterinary polyclinics/hospitals/dispensaries in the country is 16,930. In addition, there are 20,450 veterinary first aid centres. Each

veterinary unit provides coverage for 17 villages or 7,700 cattle units. The investment in animal husbandry and dairying in the First Plan was Rs. 22 crore which rose to Rs. 1,134.6 crore in the Seventh Plan.

It is heartening that as a result of all these measures, there has been an appreciable increase in the production of animal products over the last four decades. The milk production has increased from 17.2 million tonnes, to 51.5 million in 1988-89. Our production of egg, broiler and wool has also registered impressive climbs.

I am told that this Institute has a strong extension wing. I am sure they will continue to work hard to see that the research findings reach the small and marginal farmers, who need them most. New extension techniques may have to be developed to ensure that minimum possible time elapses between the development of technology and its adoption.

It is a truism that good cattle are found in areas where fodder crops are in plenty. It is, therefore, necessary that the cultivation of fodder crops finds an appropriate place in the crop rotation programme. Between 1951 and 1982, while the area under agriculture increased by 18.6 per cent, livestock population increased by 43.3 per cent, resulting in overgrazing and fast degradation of forest areas. Just to support one adult cattle 10-15 hectares of pasture or range lands are required in semi-arid and arid zones. The same pasture or range land, if improved, will have enhanced carrying capacity of one adult cattle or more per hectare.

Taking the projected population of cattle and buffaloes for AD 2000 as 218 and 100 million, respectively, and for sheep and goats as 55 and 132 million, respectively, it has been estimated that the fodder requirement would be 1,233 million tonnes. As against this, our current production is only 441 million tonnes of dry fodder and 250 million tonnes of green fodder annually. This gap between demand and supply of fodder will continue to widen if fodder production is not increased.

To make livestock production an economic proposition, we also have to effectively apply newly developed technology, like biotechnology and informatics. The concepts of genetic engineering can perhaps be applied for developing cheaper and more effective diagnostics and vaccines. Similarly, the embryo transfer technology can be used for generating high producing livestock. The processing of animal products need modernization to add value, reduce bulk and increase shelf-life.

I am confident that the scientists of the country in general and of this Institute in particular will rise to the occasion to meet the new emerging challenges and will work hand in hand with other related agencies to secure a fair return to our farmers.

On this memorable occasion, I once again convey my felicitations and good wishes to the scientists and other staff of this Institute for their contribution in the development of veterinary science in the country. I particularly congratulate the eminent scientists, who are being honoured today for their efforts to bring about an economic revolution in the country through livestock

development. I am sure that our young scientists would try to tread the path shown by these leading scientists and will work with renewed zeal and vigour to secure a better life for the common man.

I wish the Indian Veterinary Research Institute continuing success in the future.

Learning How to Learn

I AM DELIGHTED to inaugurate the nineteenth Jawaharlal Nehru National Science Exhibition for children. I have had the pleasure of inaugurating the exhibitions held in this series over the last three years, in Jabalpur, Jammu and Hyderabad. I am, therefore, very happy to be able to continue this association. I would like to thank the Ministry of Human Resource Development and the National Council of Educational Research and Training for giving me the opportunity for being in your midst again.

I would like to express my appreciation of the work which the NCERT is doing in this field. The idea of organizing science exhibitions for children and by children is a welcome endeavour. It enables children to engage themselves in creative activity. I would like to commend the NCERT and the participating children on this initiative.

Nothing was closer to Jawaharlal Nehru's heart than our children and our youth. Jawaharlalji valued the child—for its own sake and as a supremely important asset of the nation. He knew that we owed a responsibility to our children, whatever be our other adult preoccupations. He also knew that the healthier the children, physically and mentally, the stronger shall be the nation to whom they belong. Jawaharlalji once said: "It is the human being that counts much more as a child than as a grown-up."

Naturally, the future of the country will depend on how we respond to the needs of our children today, in terms of environment and opportunity. The natural curiosity of children has been likened to the enquiries of philosophers. Children are never satisfied with easy answers. They want to know the 'why' and 'wherefore' of things. With each unit of knowledge received, they move on to the next in the manner of trained empiricists or metaphysicians. And so, in a sense, children are scientists-in-making. The child's mind is essentially inquisitive even as that of a scientist is. Unconvinced except by proof, and untrammelled by dogma or prejudice, children are ideally suited for receiving the signals of objective science.

I am glad this Science Exhibition is being held this year in the historic city

of Patna. Built on the site of the renowned Pataliputra, Patna city has a history that goes back by two-and-a-half millennia. This region has been the cradle of the highly mature and emancipated Magadhan culture wherein intellectual, philosophical, spiritual and aesthetic activities were pursued with rare excellence.

The people of Patna and of Bihar represent the rich mosaic of India's population. Different ethnic, religious, cultural and social strands have been woven together to form the tapestry of Bihar's life. Among these, a special place is occupied by the tribal communities of this State. Energetic, colourful and full of optimism they have enriched Bihar's life. I would, on this occasion, like to express my cordial greetings to the people of the State.

Bihar has sometimes been described as a rich State with poor people. The children participating in this Science Exhibition will be interested to know how rich this State is in its natural resources. Chhota Nagpur, which is also known as the Ruhr of India, has vast mineral wealth. South Bihar is, in fact, the geologist's delight. Twenty-five per cent of the country's total production of bauxite, 36 per cent of its coal, 55 per cent of its copper, 58 per cent of mica and 59 per cent of India's uranium are mined in South Bihar itself. Besides, rich deposits of iron ore also occur in South Bihar. But possessing minerals is one thing; using them is another. The challenge lies in harnessing these resources for the common weal; harnessing them imaginatively without slaughtering the resources.

Years ago, as early as the twenties of this century, the great Tamil poet Mahakavi Subramania Bharati, (in whose name stands an Auditorium in Patna) sang the following lines:

“From mines dug deep
We shall extract
Gold and other minerals
Which we shall sell in distant lands
And buy the things we need at home.”

I am sure the youth of Bihar will hearken to the call of science and take this State forward in our march towards progress.

The advent of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and colonialism in India, put the clock of development back. We remained a mediaeval people when the world was marching ahead in science and technology. India became a supplier of cheap labour and raw materials—no more.

Towards the end of the last century the winds of renaissance began to blow across India once again. And despite its colonial status, India began to reassert itself, in the world of philosophy and of modern science. There was spurt of stalwarts and intellectuals in all parts of the country. Great minds, pulsating with ancient India's mental energies arose within our society, now sharpened by western training. Scientists like J.C. Bose, P.C. Ray, S.N. Bose and Meghnad Saha rose in the East: S. Ramanujan, C.V. Raman and K.S. Krishnan in the South; Birbal Sahni and S.S. Bhatnagar in the North; Homi Bhabha and the young Vikram Sarabhai in our West. These personalities

formed a galaxy no less impressive than the great political galaxy Gandhi, Nehru, C.R. Das, Rajaji, Patel and others of whom we are so proud.

After Independence, thanks to the vision of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Government of India came to look upon science and technology as a means for social and economic change. Nehru looked upon science and the methods of science as the most vital key for national development: "The future belongs to science, and to those who make friends with science."

The Scientific Policy Resolution adopted by the Government of India in 1958 aimed at securing "for the people of the country all the benefits that can accrue from the acquisition and application of scientific knowledge."

It was realized that only by putting in our utmost effort into the development of science and technology we could solve poverty in the country.

I am told that the thematic title of this year's Exhibition is "Nehru and Science". Under Jawaharlal Nehru's guidance National Laboratories were set up, brilliant scholars were trained in the best institutions of the world, and universities were encouraged to regard research as their major responsibility. The Atomic Energy Commission and Space Research Organisation came into being. As a result, our scientific and technological infrastructure grew rapidly and in course of time, accomplishments of great significance took place in areas of high technology like atomic energy, space and electronics, while closer to the lives of the masses, self-sufficiency in foodgrain production was achieved through scientific input into our archaic agricultural practices. Here in Bihar, sprang the Temples of Modern India, the oil refinery at Barauni, the steel plant at Ranchi, the fertilizer plant at Sindri, the Bharat Coking Coal Plant at Dhanbad, the Heavy Engineering Corporation and the national Metallurgical Laboratory at Ranchi.

These scientific achievements of ours are justifiably a matter of pride for us. No longer can India be relegated to the category of backward States in science and technology. From a matchbox to heavy machinery, trucks, tractors, aeroplanes and ships, we now produce almost everything in India. And so, the wide range of scientific activities that we see in this country today owes a great deal to the first Prime Minister of this country.

In Nehru's concept of India's future, science occupied not just an important but a pivotal role. He wanted to change the outlook of the nation from its archaic and obscurantist customs, traditions and practices into that of a modern scientific and logical one. He epitomised this concept in what he called the scientific temper.

Nearly fifty years ago, when we were still under foreign rule, Nehru was invited to address the National Academy of Science. He said on the occasion: "Science has brought about mighty changes. The most vital and hopeful of the changes that it has brought about has been development of the scientific outlook in man."

He said on another occasion: "It is the scientific method alone that offers hope to mankind—and an ending of the agony of the world. This world is backed with fierce conflicts and they are analysed and called by many names.

But, essentially, the major conflict is between the method of science and methods opposed to science.”

No words can be more apt today when the forces of religious fundamentalism, casteism and obscurantism of all hues challenge the basis of our society and polity. It is unfortunate that while India is considered to be one of the ten most industrialized nations in the world and Indian scientists are commended for the marvellous work that they have done in different fields of science and technology, these retrograde impulses have been able to gain ascendancy in our midst. It only shows that while science has made some progress in the country, the scientific temper has not been imbibed by her people.

Critics of science have often referred to its destructive potential and abuse, the defilement of the environment and destruction through atom bombs. But one forgets that science is only an instrument which like the surgeons scallop can remove a tumour or slit the throat. It really depends on the user of the instrument and not on the instrument itself. World opinion should, therefore, assert itself against using science for destruction and forge adequate sanctions against such abuses.

Science encourages objectivity, understanding and compassion. Together with the study of science, therefore, there must be an understanding of human values and awareness of one's role in society. A scientist, most of all, must combine in himself or herself the objectivity of science and compassion for fellow-humans. Talking to young children, Nehru once said, “The essential thing is to be human and kind and to make life richer for ourselves and others”. If only we can achieve this, then everything else is well for this world.

As I said at the outset, I visit this Exhibition every year with great pleasure, for I see here children and science coming together. Children and science both have it in them to mould the destiny of the country. I would like all participating children here to look upon every opportunity they get to learn, to enquire, to experiment. Where there is continuous learning, there is progress. It is only through learning that one can develop the confidence needed to proceed from one state of life to the next.

I wish your Exhibition and all of you, a great success. With these words, I declare this Exhibition open.

Blending Science with Wisdom

IT GIVES ME very great pleasure to be in the midst of this distinguished group of scientists assembled here for the diamond jubilee session of the National Academy of Sciences, India. I would like to extend, on this happy occasion, my felicitations to all those associated with the Academy. I would also like to thank Prof. M.G.K. Menon and Dr M.S. Swaminathan for affording me the opportunity to be with all of you today.

On occasions such as this, one's mind naturally goes back to the founders. A pioneer amongst these was Prof. Meghnad Saha, who was not only a great scientist, but also one imbued with the spirit of nationalism. He was interested in harnessing science for economic development. He recognised the value of bringing our scattered university research centres together and forging a national scientific community. It was also his aim to ensure rapid and effective publication of Indian research work. His initiative in this matter, expressed in the form of an article in the Allahabad University magazine, was followed up by discussions in the Indian Science Congress Session held at Allahabad in 1929. This led to the creation of The National Academy of Sciences, India, which is the oldest of all our science academies. The founder fellows included internationally renowned scientists like Birbal Sahni, the palaeo-botanist; A.C. Banerjee, the applied mathematician and N.R. Dhar, the physical chemist and several others. Among them was Andre Weil, the mathematician, who is still living, and to whom we all send our warmest greetings. Several years after the Academy was set up, two other science academies came up as well: the Indian Academy of Sciences in Bangalore in 1934, and the Indian National Science Academy now at Delhi, in 1935.

The concept of scholars coming together to share ideas and experiences, to listen to discourses, to hold discussions, and to interact with one another is ancient. In our country, we have had such centres of scholarship and excellence at a variety of places: one can think of the famous schools at Nalanda, Varanasi and Prayag. Elsewhere, the Academy of Plato in Athens endured for a thousand years from 387 BC.; the Lyceum was founded by Aristotle in 320 BC.; and the Museum of Alexandria was the first State supported research institute. A few hundred years ago, when the Scientific and Industrial Revolutions took place, we saw the formation of the first well established scientific societies, the Royal Society of London and the French Royal Academy. Somewhat earlier to these were the academies set up in Rome and Florence in Italy. All these represented an early informal gathering of friends interested in the new science. Soon thereafter, academies on the English and French models were set up in various kingdoms of Germany and Austria and later, in Sweden and Russia. These scientific

societies have played a very important role in establishing science as a fully recognised factor in culture. They were concerned initially with the entertaining and instructive side of science, then with the scientific studies of the large raw material resources which could be developed into industrial products and later with the assimilation and reflection on the enormous scientific advances that were taking place all over the world.

It was not surprising that during the political and social ferment that overtook the country during the 19th century our great pioneering scientists also felt it necessary to create institutions where Indian scientists could come together to discuss the scientific advance sweeping over the world and the need to harness it for the nation's benefit. The institutional framework they sought to create, in the case of all our Science Academies, was modelled on the Royal Society.

When one looks back over the past sixty years, one is amazed by the transformations that have taken place on the Indian as well as international scene. Science and technology have moved spectacularly. Rutherford, who was responsible for identifying the nucleus of the atom, did not dream that there would be applications like the development of nuclear energy. But nuclear science has moved us forward by a factor of a million, from energy release of electron volts characteristic of chemistry to millions of electron volts when nuclear fission or fusion takes place. And, in this field, we have seen both the destructive aspects of science in nuclear bombs, and the constructive aspects in nuclear energy. This area, more than any other, has brought to the fore the basic dilemma of how to integrate scientific development with wisdom, and a meaningful value system, so that science is always used for the good of the world.

The developments in electronics, computers and telecommunications have brought us to the new information age of which we are at the very beginning. Furthermore, many regard the future to be the age of the new biology and biotechnology, based on our understanding of the life processes themselves. Apart from spectacular advances of such all-pervasive nature, there are several commonplace artefacts that are part of our daily life, like plastics and polymers, instant and colour photography, wide-bodied jet transportation, instant worldwide communications, mini radios and calculators and much else.

Thanks to the vision of Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of modern India, a very large, wide-based infrastructure for science and technology has been created in the country. In particular, during the period when he was Prime Minister he laid the foundation for development of atomic energy, scientific work under CSIR and the defence research activities. The Scientific Policy Resolution of 1958, for which Nehru was responsible, expressed the faith of India in science and technology and its role in national development. The thrust given by Jawaharlal Nehru was continued by Indira Gandhi over the next two decades which were marked by significant developments in agriculture, space science and technology, defence research, electronics, environment, biotechnology, ocean development, and renewable energies. It

is because of this continuing effort that, with regard to our scientific capabilities and achievements, we have a place amongst the developed nations of the world, though on the basis of other criteria, India is still considered to be a less developed country.

Very often it is stated that, in spite of the support given for science and technology since Independence, it has been unable to fulfil the expectations of society, and contribute in a major way to national development. The critics tend to forget that India being a colony did not participate in the Industrial Revolution and that, when India became independent, it was faced with an enormous backlog in development. Besides, the industrial base in the country was very small, consisting of textile mills, some units in the area of material extraction and processing, and a steel plant at Jamshedpur. There was no base of industrial science, technology or research. Agriculture was largely stagnant. The first task was, therefore, to create the capabilities and infrastructure to enable a self-sustaining growth of science and technology, and thereafter enable meaningful applications. The challenge was all the greater because of the rapid increase in the pace of our population growth. The growth rate is still continuing at about two per cent per annum. Tangible effects of national development, including that due to science and technology, have been diluted to the extent of this population growth. It, therefore, became necessary that science and technology must keep pace with the rising needs and expectations of our population and of our defence requirements. India's progress in science and technology measured against the rapid growth in developed countries, may appear to be somewhat slower and its impact less than expectations. But it is important to recall that it is scientific inputs into agriculture that have enabled the country to increase foodgrain production on a steady basis over the past quarter of a century to attain the high degree of self-sufficiency and even capability to tide over severe drought conditions. We have achieved a remarkable degree of self-reliance and capability in the highly sophisticated and fast moving technological areas of nuclear energy and space. We have many accomplishments to our credit in the field of defence research and electronics.

I would like to congratulate our scientists on these accomplishments. I am confident that with the infrastructure that presently exists, it will be possible for our science and technology to make contributions in a significant way in all the major areas of national development, such as food production, water management, energy, employment generation, rural development, industrial production and in moving into the ages of informatics and new biology that lie ahead of us.

The scientific community has now to focus attention on evolving science policy and bringing about an integration of science with the lives of the people. This is where academies such as the National Academy of Sciences can play an important role.

It is certain that science will continue to grow on an exponential basis. We will have more knowledge and a better understanding of nature. We will have greater technological capabilities.

Will mankind harness them for human good? This question cannot be answered by scientists alone. Challenges of such magnitude have to be tackled by society as a whole. For this, science has to permeate society. This will involve the important processes of creation of a scientific temper, and rational, objective thinking and of the scientific method.

The country is undoubtedly passing through a very difficult period in facing many social, economic, religious and other problems. The world, too, is plunged in turmoil. In the midst of this, we see the continuing onward march of science, based on the great powers of the human mind. We must blend science with wisdom, to build a bright future.

A jubilee is not just for celebration, but an occasion for all of us to pool our expertise together for creating a better India and a better world. On the occasion of its diamond jubilee I extend my best wishes to the National Academy of Sciences. May your efforts to bring together the scientific community as envisaged by the founders six decades ago, continue to bear fruit. I have great pleasure in inaugurating diamond jubilee session today.

Technology Exchange for Mutual Benefit

I AM HAPPY to be amongst this gathering of scientists, technocrats, manufacturers and users from India and abroad on the occasion of the International Exhibition WISITEX 1992 and the International Technology Congress. I would like to thank the Department of Electronics, Government of India, for inviting me to inaugurate this important event.

It is gratifying to see that the USA, the partner-country in this Exhibition and other countries such as Canada, China, Japan, Russia and the UK are participating in the Exhibition and the Technology Congress, making this not just an international get-together, but a get-together of the highest class and calibre. It is India's pleasure and privilege to host a gathering of such distinction and relevance as this.

India has a long tradition of science and technology, going back at least to the Indus valley civilization which flourished about 5,000 years ago. The world is aware of India's contribution of the place value of a digit and a digit without value, which by proper placement can increase or decrease the values of other digits manifold; a contribution without which the large-scale calculations needed by an industrial society would be unthinkable. But this

great contribution did not come in isolation. Significant contributions were made in our country between the 5th and 12th centuries AD in areas of astronomy, mathematics, medicine, chemistry, metallurgy, architecture and engineering. We are rightly proud of Aryabhatta, Varahamihira and Bhaskara. In the reverse direction, knowledge developed elsewhere was assimilated by our scholars. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, our country got separated from the mainstream. In fact, the fruits of the revolution got concentrated in the North and West and the world got divided into two distinct parts—the developed and the developing—with India falling in the latter category.

Towards the end of the last century and beginning of this, India once again started to move into the world of modern science and technology. Indian scientists like J.C. Bose, S. Ramanujan, C.V. Raman, Birbal Sahni, Meghnad Saha, Homi Bhabha and others made contributions of international standards. Simultaneously, with this resurgence of Indian science, free India came to the conclusion that the problems of poverty and backwardness of the country could be solved only through application of science and technology. In pursuance of this policy, our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru established a number of National Laboratories, Atomic Energy Commission and Space Research Centres all over the country. The Technology Policy Statement of the Government of India released at the Session of the Indian Science Congress in 1983 stated:

“The use and development of Technology must relate to the people’s aspirations. Our own immediate needs in India are the attainment of technological self-reliance, a swift and tangible improvement in the conditions of the weakest sections of the population and the speedy development of backward regions. We seek technological advancement not for prestige or aggrandisement but to solve our multifarious problems and to be able to safeguard our independence and our unity....”

We have established steel plants, a sizeable engineering and machine tool industry launched on a massive power development, explored oil and gas so that India today ranks among the industrialized countries of the world. We have advanced from the position of a country importing even safety pins and fountain pens to one exporting engineering goods, machinery and tools. In the volume of skilled scientific and technological manpower, we stand third in the world. If in spite of such telling development, our per capita income is low, it is because of the increase in population, which dilutes the achievements. What makes us confident about the future of our development as a modern society is our awareness that we now have the knowledge, the know-how required for development.

Earlier economists identified only land, labour and capital as the factors of production. Of these, money or capital was the most significant element. Later it was realized that even with an abundance of these factors, ventures could not succeed unless there was a scientific and efficient management of these resources. We then saw the evolution of management as a key input in deciding the pace of industrial development. We thus moved into the era of

‘managerial capitalism’. After the Second World War and definitely in recent years we see increasingly knowledge emerging as the main engine for industrial development. We are thus in what has been termed the age of ‘intellectual capitalism’.

This will be obvious from a simple example. If you look at a piece of steel, 90 per cent of it is physical raw material like iron, cobalt, nickel, manganese etc. and 10 per cent only is knowledge or the technology for making steel. On the other hand, if you look at computers or software or modern electronic weapon systems or communications it is 90 per cent technology or congealed knowledge and only 10 per cent is raw material.

Electronics in general and industrial automation and informatics in particular have very wide ranging applications in practically every sector of industry and services. The technologies represented in today’s Exhibition are particularly relevant in making the best use of the resources we have. Through imaginative application of these technologies, we can improve productivity and save energy. In short, these technologies can help us to convert the problems we face into opportunities.

The wealth of a nation depends, in the final analysis, not so much on the physical resources but on technology which can multiply and maximise the potential of physical resources and result in high degree of growth. After all, silicon which is the basis of the electronics today occurs widely in nature. Sand is available everywhere but it is technology that can extract high purity silicon from sand.

An exhibition like WISITEX 92, therefore, gives us a glimpse of the latest technologies that are being developed in the area of instrumentation, informatics, industrial automation and telecommunications. I understand that 600 companies including 200 from the USA, the UK, Canada, Russia and Japan are participating and displaying their latest products in this Exhibition. I am also told that 800 delegates are participating in the Technology Congress. It should, therefore, provide an excellent opportunity for the exchange of knowledge and experiences in the new technologies. Besides, companies can also establish contacts and explore possibilities of co-operation with each other for a quantum growth in the technologies. We have a saying in Sanskrit *Vidya viniyogath vikasa*—knowledge grows by dissemination. The more you spread knowledge, the greater it grows.

This Exhibition comes at a time when the Government has made basic and significant changes in its economic policy. The changes made in the industrial and trade policy are intended to facilitate cross fertilization of ideas and industrial practices so that Indian industry could keep abreast in international trade. The goal is to make the Indian economy plug into the global market. From an earlier era of import substitution, we are now moving to a strategy based on export led growth. Electronics, telecommunication and information technology represent areas where the technology is truly global and integrating with the global market is a must.

Another important aspect of the new policy paradigm of the Government is the encouragement given for foreign direct investment.

This is the first international event on the subject of instrumentation, industrial electronics, informatics, telecommunications, etc. after the new Industrial Policy of the Government has been announced. This Exhibition and Technology Congress, therefore, must help the industrialists both within India and abroad to see how they could take advantage of the new industrial and trade policy for mutual benefit.

I am sure, the industrial community of our country and other countries will take full advantage of this opportunity by displaying their capabilities before the world market represented at this international event.

I have great pleasure in declaring WISITEX 92, the Seventh International Exhibition open, and wish it—and its participants—great success.

VII DEFENCE

Our Dedicated Troops

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be in your midst today. I am no stranger to the forward posts of our armed forces. As Defence Minister, I visited forward areas frequently to acquaint myself with the conditions there. Each time that I visited the forward operational locations, I came away deeply impressed by the fitness, alertness and dedication of our troops.

I have the same feeling today. My visits to forward areas have deeply convinced me that the Indian armed forces are second to none in the world. I congratulate you and your fellow soldiers in our armed forces.

Our Army is deployed in remote and difficult areas from low forest-covered hills to the high altitude snow-clad regions from the desert plains areas of Rajasthan to the heights of Siachen area. It, indeed, requires a committed and highly motivated person to be able to perform effectively in the variations of extreme climates and difficult terrain that obtain in our country.

I am well aware of the immense difficulties that all of you face, while performing your duties in remote and inhospitable areas—a task that is being faced willingly, cheerfully and courageously. All of you have taken upon yourself this tremendous responsibility of your own volition; of your own free will; and spontaneously, for the cause of the nation. Your feats do the entire nation proud, enabling us to hold our heads high in the comity of nations.

Notwithstanding the challenges faced by you, I notice that very high standards of discipline and morale are being maintained. This is as it should be, because without these two basic tenets no organization can hope to achieve success. In fact, without these traits the force could well be like a rudderless ship in a stormy sea. It, thus, gives me immense happiness to observe that neither the elements of nature nor the designs of the enemy have made the slightest impact on your conduct or performance.

This has been proved beyond doubt during events in the subcontinent in the recent past when the armed forces were called upon to do service for the nation. In the Siachen Glacier our troops are continuing to display tremendous courage, discipline and fortitude in facing the rigours of high altitude and subarctic conditions in this area. To be able to successfully operate at features ranging between 16,000 to 20,000 feet, where temperature ranges between -15°C and -40°C throughout the year, where the strong chilly winds make the atmosphere all the more inhospitable, where avalanches and snow-drifts are common and regular, is a feat never before done in the history of modern military operations. The performance of the Indian Army has been truly magnificent.

In the Maldives, the combined operations by the Indian forces displayed

both our capability to act in unison for the achievement of one goal as also our efficiency for rapid deployment of troops. The operations were conducted without any casualties to our troops. The Army, the Navy and the Air Force have done the nation proud. The entire world has acknowledged the speed and efficiency of our operation.

In Sri Lanka, our troops were faced with a totally different situation. I am firm in my belief that the IPKF in Sri Lanka completed a difficult and thankless task with dedication and valour.

The nation has, in the past few months been subjected to tremendous stresses and strains due to the policy of Pakistan, to deliberately aid, abet and stoke the militant and terrorist forces in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Young and misguided youth have been lured and coerced to create an atmosphere of insurgency. These young men are being trained, armed with weapons and explosives, provided funds and then infiltrated back into India with the connivance and assistance of the Pakistani armed forces.

The aim is to let loose a reign of terror and intimidation and create conditions favourable for an armed incursion at a suitable opportunity. There are also reports of movement of troops including tanks and artillery in the close vicinity of our borders. Other war-like activities have also been observed and it is learnt that the Pakistan Army is in a high state of alert. Pakistan is thus escalating tensions and keeping alive an explosive situation. Their illusion of adopting a 'low cost option' will be nothing more than an idle dream.

We have exercised extreme restraint, despite grave provocation. This, however, is not to be taken as a weakness. We do not want war, but if so forced, let there not be any doubt, that the consequences to the adversary will be disastrous. Our nation follows certain noble principles—and we shall protect them against any onslaught. We cherish our sovereignty and shall guard it with all the resources at our disposal. The nation is confident that the Indian Army will not allow the sanctity of the borders to be violated. That is the trust that we have placed on you all. The entire nation stands behind the armed forces—as one man, without distinction of caste, creed, religion or political persuasions. On the issue of national security we have no differences. Do rest assured that if there is a conflict, the entire nation will be behind you. The perpetrators of such actions must understand that there will not be a 'low cost option.'

At this juncture, I would also like to mention that we are alive to your problems; and the Government continues to persist in efforts to uplift and improve your living conditions and infrastructure. More importantly—We will not be found wanting in providing you with the best available wherewithal to ensure the defence of our frontiers.

I take this opportunity to congratulate all of you on your exemplary performance and assure you that the whole nation stands behind you in the noble task undertaken by you.

A Glorious Force

IT IS WITH great happiness that I join all of you this evening at the inauguration of this Air Force auditorium. May I congratulate the Indian Air Force on its acquiring this splendid facility. I would like to compliment the architects, builders and interior decorators associated with the project, on the elegance and sophistication of the auditorium. I am particularly glad that motifs representing the Air Force have been used in the design.

As mentioned by the Chief of Air Staff, I have had a special link with this project. In 1982, when the Air Force was considering various proposals to commemorate its golden jubilee, I had, as the then Defence Minister, suggested the construction of some facility of a permanent nature which could be utilized by the IAF for various important activities. This resulted in the idea of an auditorium. And so it gives me great satisfaction to be here today, at the invitation of the Defence Ministry, to inaugurate the auditorium.

This occasion serves to remind all of us of the important role that the Air Force plays in the defence of the country. Commencing with the modest stock of four *Westland Wapiti* aircraft in 1932, our Air Force has now acquired modern weapon systems to strengthen the combat force. Our Air Force fleet now consists of fighter-bombers, fighter-interceptors, bombers, transport and logistic support aircraft. The fighter and fighter-bomber fleet itself comprises *Hunters*, *Ajeets*, *MIG-21*, *MIG-23*, *Jaguars* and the *Mirage-2000*. Our indigenously manufactured *MIG-27* aircraft has also been inducted in the IAF combat fleet while the transport fleet also consists of the indigenously manufactured *HS-748s*, and *Dornier-228* aircraft. We have an impressive helicopter fleet as well, consisting of *MI-8s*, *MI-17s*, *MI-26s*, *Chetaks* and *Cheetahs*. Modern avionics fitted in these aircraft enhance flight safety and optimize flight operations.

The Indian Air Force has rendered a glorious account of itself in all the major defence operations of our country. The role of the *Gnat* in the 1965 operations constitutes a rare success story. Similarly, during the 1971 operations, our Air Force established our air superiority in no time, thereby making it possible for the Army to obtain a surrender from the enemy in record time.

In recent times, the role of the Air Force in the 1988 operation in the Maldives, has been memorable. As you are aware, after the insurgents had commenced their activities in that island-nation and we had received an SOS from the President of the Maldives, the Air Force was assigned the task of transporting defence personnel there. In a daring operation performed at night our *IL-76* aircraft landed in the air fields and turned the tide against the insurgents. The Air Force once again played a notable part in identifying the

vessels carrying the insurgents in the direction of Sri Lanka. Our Army and Navy were thus given the most crucial support by the Air Force in the operation conducted by us at the behest of the friendly neighbouring country.

Even in peace time, the Air Force has always come to the aid of the civil administration by undertaking hazardous supply dropping and rescue missions within the country and operations such as the Antarctica expedition.

In recent weeks, the Air Force has been playing an important humanitarian role in transporting evacuees from the Gulf.

A sophisticated organisation like the Air Force is a combination of technology and human skills. Airborne technology develops continuously in sophistication. Similarly, flying skills are continuously adjusted to remain in tune with innovations in the designs of the aircraft. Today's best technology and training can become completely obsolete tomorrow. It, therefore, becomes necessary for the Air Force to remember that it must keep continuously abreast of the developments in air technology and flying skills.

Our Air Force Administrative College at Coimbatore and Air Force Technical College at Jalahalli provide excellent training facilities for ground duty as well as technical branches. The Flying Instructors School at Tambaram, the Schools at Chandigarh, Agra and Avadi, and the College of Air Warfare at Secunderabad train our fliers in the latest technology of flying and air warfare. The country is proud of these institutions which are instrumental in maintaining the Air Force's operational preparedness.

It is gratifying that while attending to their primary role of operational preparedness, IAF continues to suitably provide for the educational, cultural and recreational needs of their personnel. I understand that the Air Force Education and Cultural Society is actively involved in the promotion of education, art and culture amongst the Air Force personnel and their families, I am aware that the Air Force utilizes its non-public funds for a variety of welfare and other purposes. This auditorium is a very good example of effective utilization of its resources, by the Air Force.

I am sure that this auditorium, with all the requisite infrastructure, would facilitate the holding of conferences, seminars and lectures. The various educational institutions and cultural agencies in Delhi could also use this facility for organizing important functions.

I once again congratulate the Indian Air Force on its achievement in creating such a worthy asset in commemoration of the Air Force golden jubilee.

With these words, I have great pleasure in declaring this auditorium open and in wishing the Indian Air Force continuing success and glory.

A Quantum Jump in Naval Power

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to dedicate *INS Kattabomman* to the nation. I would like to congratulate the Indian Navy on the acquisition of this splendid facility. The commissioning of this VLF station will, without doubt, add muscle to our maritime forces and bring about a quantum jump in our strategic naval capabilities.

I have a cherished association with this project. This is, in fact, my third visit here. On my first visit, on 19 January 1984, I had the pleasure of laying the foundation-stone for this station. The area then presented a desolate and stark look, situated as it was in a drought-prone region, with the monotony of the landscape broken only by occasional thorny bushes. During my second visit to the station, I was pleasantly surprised to see that the landscape at the project site had changed into a pleasant site with considerable amount of greenery in evidence. What I now see is a once wasteland devoid of all vegetation throbbing with life. The project team has virtually made the rocks turn to leaves. This project is, therefore, a unique example where the human interface with nature has been so beneficial to this stretch of wasteland. I am also happy to know that the few families which were displaced from this site have been rehabilitated.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that this major establishment is being named after the outstanding patriot who belonged to this region, Veerapandiya Kattabomman. As you are all aware, Kattabomman fought British imperialism most valiantly. Unable to subdue Kattabomman's fierce independence by other means, the British colonialists of the East India Company finally captured him by stratagem and sentenced him to death. His hanging, in a public place at Kayattar, 15 kilometres from Tirunelveli, forms one of the most memorable episodes in the saga of our freedom struggle. I would like to pay my homage, today, to Kattabomman's sacred memory.

I am also reminded today of another valiant son of India who belonged to this region—V.O. Chidambaranar, popularly known as VOC or *Kappalottiya Thamizhan*. VOC broke British monopoly over the high seas by launching Swadeshi ships at Tuticorin. His is an enduring example of India's enterprise over the seas.

Also from Tirunelveli, hailed the immortal poet patriot Subramania Bharati. I am reminded today of the stirring lines from Bharatiyar's national songs:

*“Kudaigal Saivom Uzhupadikal Saivom
Konigal Saivom Irumbanigal Saivom.
Nadaiyum Parappumunar Vandigal Saivom
Gnalam Nadungavarum Kappalgai Saivom”*

(Parasols we shall make, and ploughs,
Jute-bags and iron-nails; vehicles
That run and fly; and mighty ships
That set the whole world a tremble.

Bharati's dream has come true in Free India, which boasts of one of the world's finest navies. Our Navy has been rendering an exemplary account of itself over the years. Its three commands and two fleets now consist of aircraft carriers, destroyers, frigates and submarines. Its sizeable air arm with various types of aircraft and helicopters, survey ships, landing craft and others constitute a formidable system.

The latest additions to our naval fleet, namely, the second aircraft carrier *INS Viraat*, modern submarines, missile boats and indigenously constructed Godavari class frigates fitted with surface-to-surface missiles and surface-to-air missiles have considerably added to the capability of the Navy.

The Navy has performed gallantly and admirably in times of crisis. The Navy's memorable role in Operation Cactus during the 1988 insurgency in the Maldives, turned the tide in that country. Likewise, the co-ordinating role of the Navy's eastern command in Operation Pawan in Sri Lanka has drawn admiration and praise.

I am sure with the communication facilities which this station is to provide, our naval sinews will become stronger than ever and enable us to defend our coastline with enhanced professional efficiency. There is no doubt that *INS Kattabomman* will bring great credit to the Indian Navy.

It is obvious that a naval establishment of this nature at the southernmost corner of India, besides carrying out its strategic tasks, will also act as a catalyst of economic and social progress in this area. The people of this area in particular, and of Tamil Nadu in general, will no doubt regard this establishment with affection and care.

I have great pleasure in once again congratulating the officers and men of *INS Kattabomman* on this momentous day. May the valour of Veerapandiya Kattabomman, the enterprise of V.O. Chidambaranar and the vision of Subramania Bharati be a source of undying inspiration to all of you and to the station.

I wish you all success.

An Emblem of National Integration

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to be with you on the occasion of the silver jubilee celebrations of the BSF. I would like to extend to all of you and to the

officers and *jawans* of the BSF deployed in various areas of the country my greetings and good wishes.

The nation is deeply appreciative of the exemplary performance by the BSF in maintaining vigil on our borders and protecting the territorial integrity of the country. We admire the dedication and professionalism displayed by the officers and *jawans* of the BSF who, in the course of 25 years of service to the nation, have set high standards in the performance of their sacred duty.

The main role of the BSF is to police and guard the international borders with Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar and to instil a sense of security amongst the border population. The BSF has also been called upon to perform a role complementary to that of the Army in a war situation. The recent change in the security scenario of our country has added a new dimension to its role and the BSF has increasingly been called upon to combat the ever increasing menace of organized drug trafficking and insurgency.

On this occasion, I would like to mention that the task entrusted to the BSF is not just one of defending the physical borders of the nation or combating antinational elements in their different disguises, but above all, of protecting the great and, profoundly important ideals and values that India stands for.

As a nation, we are committed to democracy and secularism. Drawn from various parts of the country and form a varied cross-section of the population, the personnel of the BSF are an emblem of national integration.

We are committed to strive for the human rights and freedom and the prosperity of every human being in our nation. And so the task becomes a sacred one for every member of the Force, individually and in unison with his comrades-in-arms.

As a para military force, the BSF can be ranked as one of the finest in the world. It is a matter of pride that the BSF which has been entrusted with the onerous tasks of ensuring the security and honour of the country, has repeatedly distinguished itself and won glory since its inception. You may recall that it was the BSF that was specially selected by the Government of India to be part of the UN Police Monitor team to oversee free and fair elections in Namibia.

I am happy to mention here that BSF personnel have earned Padma Bhushans, Padma Shrees, Mahavir Chakras, Vir Chakras, President's Police Medal for Gallantry, President's Police Medal for distinguished service and for meritorious service and several other awards. I am sure that these distinctions will inspire higher and higher levels of performance by all in times to come.

On this occasion we particularly remember with gratitude and pride those brave sons who have made the supreme sacrifice. Their example will always be a source of inspiration for the Force.

I thank the Director General, BSF for inviting me to be with you on this memorable occasion. May I extend to every member of the Force my sincere greetings and best wishes for continued success.

A Saga of Courage

I CONGRATULATE YOU on this historic occasion of the completion of 200 years by the Deccan Horse. This is a special event for all of you and it gives me great pleasure to be with you on this memorable day.

Your turn-out and soldierly bearing on parade which I have just seen, reflect the strength and proud spirit of your Regiment's history which goes back to two centuries.

From your raising as a force in Hyderabad in 1790, your Regiment's tale has been a saga of courage, valour and bravery which has secured for all of you a special place in our Army. Soon after raising, your Regiment saw action against the Pindaris and then in the Maratha wars and in action in Afghanistan, Burma and China. Thereafter, your Regiment distinguished itself in the First World War in France and Palestine winning eleven battle honours and earning the title of 'Royal' for its gallant deeds. Your Regiment was the first Indian Cavalry Regiment to be so honoured. During the Second World War, your Regiment spearheaded the liberation drive to Meiktila and onto Rangoon.

Your actions since Independence give me even greater pride. The Regiment has always been in the forefront in all the wars fought in the western sector. Soon after Independence, the Regiment saw action at Chhamb in 1948, protecting our country's hard won freedom.

Your moment of glory came in 1965 when your unit was instrumental in repulsing the heaviest enemy thrust at Asal Uttar and contributing greatly to the creation of the famed 'Patton Nagar'. This battle has gone down in the annals of Indian military history and your Regiment's contribution was a major one.

In 1971, you were once again in the thick of battle at Chhamb, where your unit first blunted and eventually destroyed the only major enemy armour offensive in the west. In all these wars on behalf of our country, the Regiment earned for itself honours and awards in keeping with its valiant lineage. You have, therefore, a 200 years old tradition of courage.

It was in recognition of these brave deeds and sacrifices, that your Regiment was conferred the Guidon in 1984. This has placed an immense responsibility on all of you to live upto your reputation and the great expectations that the Army and country have from you, whenever called to the test.

Your Regiment has also the proud record of having had on its rolls the late General Vaidya. He truly imbibed the dauntless regimental spirit and was one of the most distinguished and highly decorated soldiers of modern India. His forty years of service with the Regiment is an example I will commend to all of you.

Our nation does not seek war. We believe in peaceful coexistence with our neighbours. However, our territorial integrity is sacrosanct and we will react with all our might against anyone threatening it. These are difficult times and the need for our being prepared for any eventuality, is much greater than ever before.

The march of the Deccan Horse into its third century thus places on all of you a great responsibility. You must commit yourself to the nation as defenders of our constitution and our sovereignty. Yours must be a path of strength tempered with unity and discipline. Beneath your armour of martial demeanour must always be a pervading sense of brotherhood, comradeship and cohesion. The Deccan Horse and the Army are one family. Hence, you must continue to be a shining example of national integration as epitomized in your motto *Sanghe Shakti*—‘Unity is strength’. Never lose sight of this.

I wish all of you of the Deccan Horse, both past and present, joy and prosperity in the years to come. I am confident that with your impregnable armour of unity and discipline you will continue to serve the country with distinction.

An Impressive Record of Service

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be amongst you at this impressive parade. I commend all those participating in it for their smart turn-out and impressive drill movements.

It is, indeed, a matter of great satisfaction to me to present standards to 28 Squadron and 109 Helicopter Unit of the Indian Air Force. Both these units have earned their colours by their significant contribution to the growth of our Air Force, their continued outstanding records of service and their selfless devotion to duty.

Number 28 Squadron was formed in March, 1963 with *MIG-21* aircraft which were the first supersonic aircraft to be inducted into the Indian Air Force. The Unit proved its mettle soon after, in the 1965 operations. The Squadron then moved to the eastern sector to help gear up day and night air warfare capability in that area. This proved most valuable when war broke out again in 1971. In these operations, the Squadron played a significant role in the establishment of total air supremacy over what was then East Pakistan. In October 1987, the Squadron was re-equipped with the *MIG-29* air superiority fighter.

Air Chief Marshal Mehra, the present Chief of the Air Staff, has been a

founder member and Squadron Commander of number 28 Squadron. The Squadron crest is the *Sudarashan Chakra* and its motto *Samharam Cha Karoti Yaha* means 'determined to destroy' which it did perform when called upon to do so.

109 Helicopter Unit came into being in August 1961, equipped with *MI-4* helicopters. It was entrusted with multifaceted tasks that included logistics support, casualty evacuation and VIP communications. Besides these, the Unit undertook the responsibility of training new pilots. In the 1965 Indo-Pak conflict, the Unit proved invaluable to the Indian Army by providing vigorous support in terms of troop induction, logistics support and casualty evacuation. In the 1971 Indo-Pak conflict, the Unit once again rendered meritorious service in support of our Army. Subsequently, the Unit specialized in operations over the icy Siachen Glacier where many sorties were flown in inhospitable weather and over high mountains in the face of hostile enemy fire to maintain vital supplies to our troops. Very often, the helicopters of 109 Helicopter Unit were the sole link between border posts and their supply centres. In 1987, the Unit moved from the icy and mountainous north of the extreme south to support Operation Pawan in Sri Lanka. In these operations, the Unit provided vital support to IPKF troops. The helicopters from this Unit mounted all types of operations under the most trying environmental and operational conditions. In 1988, the Unit took part in Operation Cactus when the Indian Government responded to the request of the President of the Maldives.

The Unit's motto is *Apatsu Mitram* which means 'a friend to those in distress'. The Unit's adherence to its motto has been proved time and again when it participated in many vital flood and cyclone relief operations, all over the country.

The history and achievements of the two units which have won their standards today reflect the versatility of air power. The growth of the Indian Air Force over the last 50 years or so has been impressive as it moved from the slow propeller-powered aircraft to the latest fly-by-wire technology aircraft. Modern military history has emphatically proved that air power plays a very significant role in times of war. It is, therefore, imperative that we not only maintain but also improve our air potential.

I exhort all of you present at this parade and those working elsewhere in the Indian Air Force, to continuously improve and innovate on the available technology and march with the times so as to make the Indian Air Force a credible entity which can act as an effective deterrent.

Finally, let me assure you that the grateful nation stands resolutely behind you in all your endeavours. I once again wish you and all your near and dear ones the very best in life.

Keeping the Guidon Aloft

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to participate in the historic occasion of your 25th anniversary. Your smart turn-out and excellent drill movements, executed with precision, bespeak your high morale. I congratulate each one of you for an excellent parade.

During the last 25 years, your services to the nation have been of a very high order. Be it the security of our borders or internal security duties, your Regiment has always risen equal to the task and rendered a splendid account of itself. I am certain that all this has been possible because of your dedication, hardwork and above all your pride in the nation.

Your performance during the 1971 Indo-Pak conflict when you were given the responsibility of the defence of Amritsar sector, has been particularly praiseworthy. The patriotism, courage and *esprit de corps* displayed by you at that crucial juncture contributed materially to thwarting enemy designs in this vital area. It is indeed a unique privilege for a 25 year old Regiment to have the honour of serving in sensitive areas for 14 years and acquitting yourself with distinction in the borders of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Rajasthan. Specifically your performance in the sensitive Jammu and Kashmir sector for eight years is very creditable.

A Guidon is a symbol of the collective spirit of the Armoured Regiment and a source of inspiration for those who serve under it. In recognition of your outstanding services to the nation, I take pride in presenting you the Guidon on your 25th birthday. I am certain that these colours will lead you on to still greater deeds of valour in the service of our great country. There is no doubt that you will maintain the undying tradition of honour and courage and ever keep the Guidon aloft.

I am sure each one of you is well aware of the security environment in our region. As a nation we are deeply committed to maintaining peace and goodwill and solving all outstanding problems with neighbours through dialogue. However, there can be no compromise on the sovereignty of the country. The nation has fullest confidence, trust and faith in your ability to sustain the sovereignty and integrity of our motherland. Today, when the nation's solidarity is facing a severe test based on language, religion, caste and creed, the armed forces stand out as a shining example of harmony, camaraderie and unity. The nation is proud of you.

I wish the Regiment all the very best in the years to come. May your motto of *Honour in Bravery Alone* continue to inspire each one of you towards greater glory.

A Fine Fighting Force

THE COUNTRY IS proud of you and of your sacrifices to uphold the honour of the nation. Here in the extremely adverse climatic conditions, your courage and fortitude shine brighter like a beacon giving an example to the youth of the country.

You are a part of one of the best armed forces in the world in training, motivation and leadership and we are proud of that fact.

We are at the same time, aware of your problems. Our Army is deployed in remote and difficult areas from low forest-covered hills to the high altitude snow-clad regions reaching up to the now well-known Siachen area on the one hand and to the deserts of Rajasthan on the other. It indeed requires a committed and highly motivated person to be able to perform effectively in the extreme climates and difficult terrain that obtain in our country.

I am well aware of the immense difficulties that all of you face, while performing your duties in remote and inhospitable areas—a task that is being faced willingly, cheerfully and courageously. All of you have taken upon yourself this tremendous responsibility of your own volition; of your own free will; and spontaneously, for the cause of the nation. Your feats do the entire nation proud, enabling us to hold our heads high in the comity of nations.

The need to keep a young profile in the armed forces compels our *jawans* to retire early. One problem which looms large in your minds is the problem of resettlement after retirement. This is an aspect to which we have been paying some attention.

We have a Director General of Resettlement in the Ministry of Defence who is in-charge of resettlement and welfare of ex-servicemen including disabled personnel, widows and dependents. A network of resettlement organisations in the country consisting of Rajya Sainik Boards at State level and District Sainik Boards at district level assist in the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen and promotion of their welfare as well as their families.

For giving employment assistance, the Central Government and the State Governments provide concessions which include reservation of posts in civil and paramilitary forces, relaxation in upper age limit, priority in employment, exemption of full military pension or part thereof in fixation of pay on re-employment. The Directorate General of Resettlement (DGR) has also been sponsoring ex-servicemen owned private security companies for providing security cover to public sector undertakings. Under this scheme, the ex-servicemen receive remuneration prescribed by the DGR.

Since it is not possible to give employment to every retiring ex-serviceman, emphasis has been given to promotion of self-employment ventures by providing requisite facilities and concessions like reservation and priority in allotment of industrial plots and sheds in most of the States. The Ministry of

Defence also has price subsidy schemes on sale of certain low technology items by ex-servicemen to the Ministry of Defence. Financial assistance by way of soft loan is provided for setting up of projects costing upto Rs. 12 lakh by ex-servicemen. A comprehensive package of credit and training facilities is available to ex-servicemen to undertake gainful farm and non-farm activities in rural areas. The scheme provides for assistance for agriculture and allied activities and agro-based industries. A large variety of schemes have been started for obtaining loans through nationalized banks for ex-servicemen.

I have been told that an elaborate training programme is organized for retiring and retired personnel by the DGR. All types of training including on-job training is available free of cost. In addition, training facility is available after retirement in the respective districts under ex-servicemen re-settlement training scheme and ex-servicemen self-employment schemes.

Financial assistance is granted for medical treatment, education, house repair, daughter's marriage and for financial distress. The State Governments have offered a variety of concessions to ex-servicemen including reservations in professional colleges, housing colonies and travel concessions. The State Governments also give cash awards to recipients of gallantry awards.

The measures which I have underlined only go to show that the nation is concerned for your welfare—while in service and also after retirement. You are constantly in our minds.

I would also like to congratulate you on the feats of bravery which you have shown—on the chilly heights of Siachen; in the midst of avalanches and snowstorms—in the Maldives, when we went to the aid of a friendly Government, and in Sri Lanka. You have always displayed the highest degree of courage and discipline—and this is what makes you a fine fighting force.

The entire nation stands behind the armed forces—as one man, without distinction of caste, creed, religion or politics. India has never coveted one inch of others' territory. We have striven for peace with our neighbours and will always do so. But in the protection of our sovereignty and integrity, the whole nation is with you.

The nation shall always remain grateful to you for your dedication and bravery. May you march on, courageous and undaunted, towards glory.

Braving the Frosty Winds

IT IS A great pleasure for me to visit our troops on the border and apprise myself of the resolution and cheerful spirit with which you undertake your arduous responsibilities. I always enjoy visiting and meeting our troops in all

the border areas of the country. I have seen your brethern in the extreme northern borders of Ladakh, the borders of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan and in the areas of the eastern borders. On these visits, I have been able to go to some of the farthest and most inaccessible corners of our frontiers. Earlier in my capacity as the Defence Minister and subsequently as your Supreme Commander, I have seen for myself the challenging conditions in which you, our brave soldiers, operate in defence of the motherland. I am, therefore, not unaware of your problems and difficulties as also your courage, valour, service and sacrifice. I am truly filled with pride over your accomplishments.

As the Supreme Commander of the armed forces, I am delighted to see, once more, your bright and eager countenances, your physical toughness and mental robustness. Your discipline, dedication and morale are not only as high as always, but are, in fact, exemplary.

Arunachal Pradesh, in particular Kameng Division, as you all know, occupies a strategic position on our north-eastern borders. Encompassing high elevations ranging beyond 5000 metres, glaciers and passes, this region poses formidable challenges, both administrative and natural. This location calls for the highest standards of toughness and alertness. The isolated high altitude of the terrain which is constantly affected by the vagaries of inclement weather such as wind velocity and heavy rain, make your task all the more difficult. But the Indian *jawan* does not get daunted. He personifies the saying that when the going gets tough, the tough get going.

You have braved the weather and difficulties caused by altitude-sickness and other related problems with characteristic cheer. You have also risen to the occasion and demonstrated your mettle in the matter of exercising vigil. The history of involvement of the Indian Army in this most inaccessible part of Arunachal Pradesh, as you all know, dates back to our pre-Independence era.

In the 1962 conflict, you braved the most difficult conditions and made supreme sacrifices in the defence of the motherland.

I would like to extend to you and to the 4 Corps with its 2, 5 and 21 Mountain Divisions which have shouldered the enormous task of defending India's frontiers in this region; my most cordial felicitations and heartiest appreciation.

Side by side with this task, you are also engaged in fighting terrorist forces. It is a matter of satisfaction that you are undertaking this task with a combination of restraint and responsibility and have achieved notable successes in putting the State of Assam on the road to normalcy and restoring public confidence in the administration.

Brave *jawans*! The nation is fully alive to its responsibility towards meeting your needs, amenities and facilities. And the Government will, therefore, spare no effort in providing them. Such assistance has been particularly important in the field of medicare because high altitude pulmonary oedema and cold injuries can have serious consequences. I am glad to learn that this aspect of your welfare is being carefully attended to.

Every Indian home is proud of you and regards you as one of their own. As you brave the chill and frosty winds here, guarding these crucial frontiers, the good wishes of every Indian family regardless of language, creed or province are with you.

The defence forces of the country are a shining example of national integration. You have come from different parts of the country, speaking different languages, and belonging to different religious faiths. But in your composite personality, you represent here the very spirit of free India—diverse and yet united. You personify India's determination to protect its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

I would like to reiterate that while our armed forces are, and will continue to be, among the best and most alert in the world, our country is wedded to peace. We believe in the furtherance of friendly relations with all countries, especially our neighbours. We are not expansionists who covet others' territories. We do not aspire for leadership of either the region or the world. We are committed to the solution of all our problems with neighbours by direct and peaceful negotiations.

But at the same time we cannot, and will not, relax our vigil. Though we may observe all the rules of the game, others may not, and, therefore, we cannot afford either to be complacent or lax in our vigil. The officers and men-at-arms have a brilliant record of service and sacrifice. It is the duty of the present generation to preserve it and pass it on to posterity. My best wishes abide with you.

State-of-the-art Defence Technology

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the new complex of the Naval Physical and Oceanographic Laboratory of the Defence Research and Development Organization (DRDO).

The Laboratory's original building at the naval base was cramped and I am, therefore, happy that a new campus has been set up for housing the laboratories and test centres. I understand this campus is near the Cochin University, a factor that will also help a great deal in pooling research scientists and students together.

Even though DRDO in its present organization and form is more than 25 years old, it continues to be young, energetic and dynamic, pursuing major scientific and technological programmes for defence with enthusiasm and competence. It was in 1982, when I was the Defence Minister, that I asked my

Scientific Adviser Dr Arunachalam to take up major hardware programmes which are of relevance to our Services. I suggested that instead of taking up a large number of small projects, DRDO concentrated on a few major development programmes integrating with them projects for developing appropriate skilled and technical manpower and production units as well. A number of new programmes for the Army, Navy and the Air Force came thus to be taken up in this fashion. Our Guided Missiles and LCA programmes are parts of this new approach. Almost a decade later, I now see remarkable progress in many areas. I would like to congratulate all the scientists, workers and all those participating in these programmes on their dedication and hardwork. The country is proud of them.

Mere political freedom does not ensure the independence of a nation. It has to be sustained by defence capabilities and economic and technological self-reliance. National freedom evaporates when a nation is unable to safeguard its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Though we are committed to peace and non-violence, we cannot relax our vigil nor our defence preparedness. It is well-known that no country sells its latest military equipment. Hence dependence on others leads only to dependence on inferior or outmoded weapons. Besides, our experience has shown that suppliers can also throttle us by withholding spares and replacements during critical times. It is, therefore, imperative that we build our own hardware of such sophistication as can match the advanced technologies in the field. Fortunately for us, we have a large and competent body of scientists and technologists in our Defence Laboratories and outside, who are capable of providing designs for most modern equipment and an excellent industrial infrastructure to fabricate these machines.

Recent wars have shown what modern military systems can do in determining their outcome. We must, therefore, persevere in our mission of developing modern systems for the Services. I am, however, conscious that R&D alone is not enough. It must be accompanied with commitments in adhering to tight time schedules and costs. The quality and reliability must be supreme and production should match the need. All these steps are essential; otherwise, R&D results will be mere scientific curiosities. The major responsibility must, therefore, be on integrating together all these phases of the development of a system so that our Services get quality hardware on time and at the cost they can afford. I am not unaware that often R&D is a gamble and not all projects turn out to be successful or developed in time. This is inherent in any scientific activity. We must accept these risks and should be strong enough to stand occasional failures, including, at times, cost and time overruns. Lack of patience and staying power can demoralize scientists and perhaps even lead them to seek greener pastures abroad or worse, work on safe but mediocre programmes with no sparkle or future.

Defence R&D plays a major role in many countries not only in catalysing the development of new products for civil use, but also in improving industrial production and quality control. Penicillin, radar, jet engines and rockets are some such examples.

Unfortunately in our country the results of defence research are not available for civilian application. Nor is there exchange of information between industrial R&D and defence research. There appears to be a compartmental dichotomy between the two. There is a vast scope for healthy interaction between Defence and industrial research. For instance, stringent quality control so indispensable for Defence has helped in improving the entire industrial and engineering base. Defence R&D must be utilized for strengthening national engineering and technology and in turn national engineering and industrial units should be harnessed for production of defence equipment. Such co-operation can help develop the nation as a whole.

Among the Services, I have noticed a warm relationship between our Navy and DRDO. This may be due to the very nature of the naval service or may also be due to the laboratories being in cities with naval bases. This has already paid rich dividends. Our Navy has today indigenous sonars, sonabuys, torpedoes, mines, and electronic warfare systems. I am confident that this warm relationship will be further strengthened with the availability of more laboratory space and facilities.

Our nation is proud of her defence forces and her scientists. DRDO has the best of the both. The country, therefore, expects from them state-of-the-art technologies for our defence. It is there that the challenge and opportunity for the organization lie.

I convey my greetings and best wishes to all in the Defence Research and Development Organisation, specially in the Naval Physical and Oceanographic Laboratory Complex.

With these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating the NPOL's new complex.

Strengthening the Naval Arm

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to commission the naval air station, Arkonam as *INS Rajali*. May I extend my felicitations to the Indian Navy on acquiring this fine asset.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that from a small coastal force consisting of only a few frigates, survey ships and mine-sweepers at the time of India's Independence, the Indian Navy has developed into a strong force competent to defend the nation over the sea, underwater and in the air.

During the post-Independence period, the air-arm of the Navy has graduated from a modest collection of vessels to modern sophisticated aircraft

which are capable of undertaking missions of any magnitude. After centuries of neglect, India has had nothing less than a maritime renaissance. We have not only rediscovered our maritime roots and realized that in the ancient days Indians were one of the greatest seafaring peoples of the world, we are on our way, once again, to take our rightful place among the maritime nations. Both ship-borne aircraft and the shore-based multiengined aircraft have been added to our naval inventory, besides the two aircraft carriers—*Vikrant and Viraat*.

As a consequence, India now occupies a dominant position in the Indian Ocean. Her southern peninsula pointing towards Antarctica divides the waters that wash her coasts into two distinct and separate seas. The Ocean, therefore, is not only an important frontier but a valuable highway influencing India's destiny.

From time immemorial, Indian ships have plied to and from India, carrying merchandise to far off lands. Given our geopolitical position, our substantial land mass and dependence on sea-borne trade, it is necessary that we possess an adequate Navy.

The new laws of the Seas have added, as our Exclusive Economic Zone, an area equal to two-thirds of our land mass which is now available for economic development. This increases our security responsibilities. For the protection of our interest in this area, the naval air arm would have to play a significant role.

Consequently, naval aircraft capable of keeping the large ocean areas under constant surveillance have been acquired. With the commissioning of *INS Rajali*, we will have a full-fledged naval air station on the east coast. Our capability to detect and attack hostile ships and submarines with speed and accuracy will undoubtedly deter the adversary from any misadventure. This naval air station will enable the Indian Navy to keep a surveillance easily on both the sea shores and keep its sea-going assets free from attacks from the adversary.

The Government of Tamil Nadu, I am glad to note, has agreed to transfer the land required for this prestigious project. Tamil Nadu has a long history of being a maritime State. Thus it is all the more appropriate that the largest naval airfield has been constructed in this State.

Our country is passing through trying times on the economic front. We have to achieve the maximum with our meagre resources. The saying '*Much More With Much Less*' acquires great significance for us. Whatever assets we possess have to be utilized to the maximum with minimum cost. I am confident the Indian Navy will bear this maxim as a motto.

Our country is firmly committed to peace and to peaceful settlement of all issues. We stand for peaceful coexistence in the world and for friendly relations particularly with our neighbours. Nevertheless, we should ever be vigilant to meet any threat to our territorial integrity and national unity. I am sure that you will not be found wanting when called upon to meet the situation. I have the fullest faith in the high morale and the operational

readiness of the Navy and am confident that the Navy will prove its mettle should the need arise.

Finally, let me take this opportunity of wishing all officers, men in uniform and civilians appointed to *INS Rajali*, the best of luck and happy landings. The nation is proud of its naval forces and extends its fullest support to the guardians of our seas. I am sure that no efforts will be spared to keep this air station fighting fit to face any eventuality that may arise.

VIII
INDIA AND THE WORLD

A Close Neighbour

WE HAVE GREAT pleasure in welcoming you, Your Excellency, amidst us today. We wish you and your delegation a very pleasant stay in our country. Excellency, the Maldives is a close neighbour of ours and you are no stranger to us. We have had the pleasure of welcoming you in our midst on earlier occasions and we have been delighted, each time, to do so. There are many here who have had the honour and pleasure of meeting you and knowing you.

If geography has placed India and the Maldives close to each other, history has intertwined us as well. In recent times our bonds, that go back to millennia, have been further strengthened. Our exchanges and mutual co-operation have been expanded and enhanced greatly. It is, therefore, apposite that the first State visit of a Head of State, after the new Government assumed office in India, is made by Your Excellency. Your Excellency is well aware that the Government of India attaches the highest priority to its relations with its immediate neighbours. Our relations with the Maldives have always been extremely cordial and free of problems, and it is our endeavour to further consolidate, strengthen and diversify our ties.

Excellency, the first visit overseas by our External Affairs Minister was to your country, in January, for the inaugural meeting of the Indo-Maldives Joint Economic Commission. This meeting embodied the spirit of close and fruitful co-operation that characterizes our relations. During the visit of the Minister of External Affairs to the Maldives, your Excellency laid the foundation stone of the 'Indira Gandhi Memorial Hospital'. This Institution, it is our hope, will in the years to come, be a living symbol of the spirit of our co-operation. The Agreement on waiver of visas for Maldivian nationals travelling to India, comes into effect, appropriately, with this visit of yours. This is bound to facilitate and thereby strengthen the people-to-people relationship between our two countries.

In our interaction in the recent past, our two countries have consciously accorded priority to co-operation in the field of economic development. We in India have watched with keen interest and great admiration, your efforts at balanced economic development—keeping in view your unique geography and natural heritage, and the importance of safeguarding the fragile ecology and environment of your beautiful country. As you are aware, India too, has island territories. Your experience in economic development is, therefore, of special interest to us. I note with satisfaction, that the recently held Joint Economic Commission was able to identify several areas of co-operation in which we can learn from each other.

We have watched with admiration the commitment of the Maldives to

socio-economic development without losing sight of its traditional cultural values. Our approach has been similar. Your enlightened policies are aimed at balanced economic and social development. We in India will be happy to make whatever modest contribution we can, to this process.

Your Excellency began your career as a teacher and you naturally have a deep understanding of socio-economic forces at work.

You would, therefore, have watched with informed interest the recent breathtaking changes that are taking place around us. Ideological conflict is becoming a thing of the past. Co-operation rather than confrontation is becoming the theme underlying today's international equations. To us, members of the Non-aligned Movement, this is a matter of satisfaction. Our Movement has always recognised the paramount importance of coexistence between different ideological and political systems, of States big and small and of nations at different levels of economic development. Outdated and iniquitous structures of the past are crumbling before the wave of change spreading across the world. Namibia will be free in a week from now. The end to the abhorrent system of apartheid is no longer a distant dream.

These changes cannot but affect our region too. We desire above all peace, security and stability in our region so that we can devote our whole energy to the economic and social development of our peoples. Both our countries share this objective. We want the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace, free from competing influences and military presence of great powers. Amongst ourselves we have made a modest beginning in erecting structures of regional co-operation.

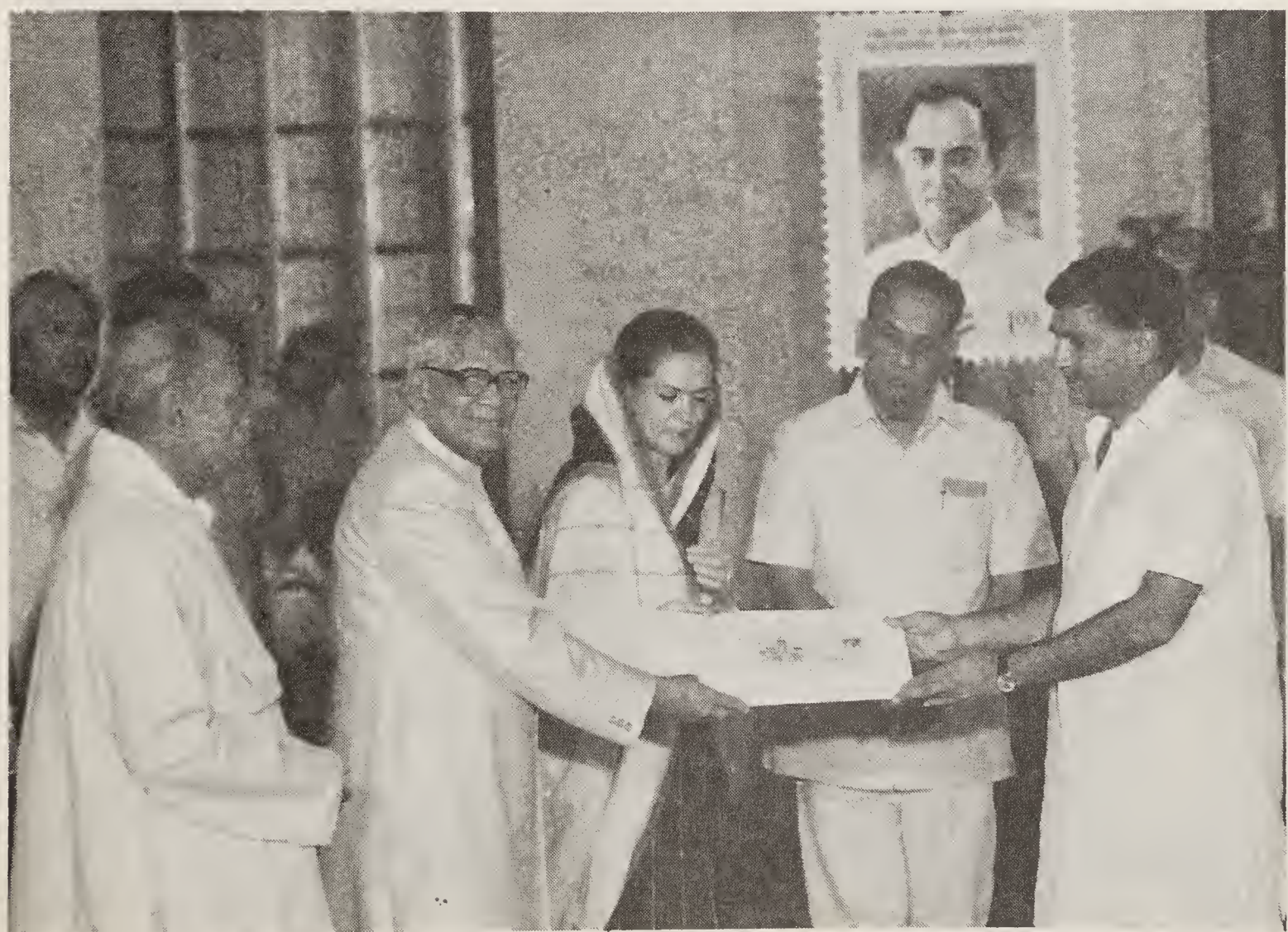
We recognize that much more needs to be done so that SAARC becomes an effective vehicle of regional economic co-operation. Even so, we can feel proud of our achievements during the four years that have elapsed since the first SAARC Summit was held. We rejoice that the Maldives will be hosting the Fifth SAARC Summit later this year. I am confident that this will be a productive and an auspicious Summit, especially as it will coincide with the 25th anniversary of the independence of the Maldives. It gives us immense pleasure to wish, with all our hearts, many anniversaries and jubilees of that day for your country and your people.

Serving the Cause of Palestine

WE HAVE GATHERED, as we do each year, to honour the memory of Jawaharlal Nehru. You are aware that Jawaharlal Nehru dedicated his life to



*Greeting the Vice-President, Dr Shanker Dayal Sharma on his birthday,
New Delhi, 19 August 1991*



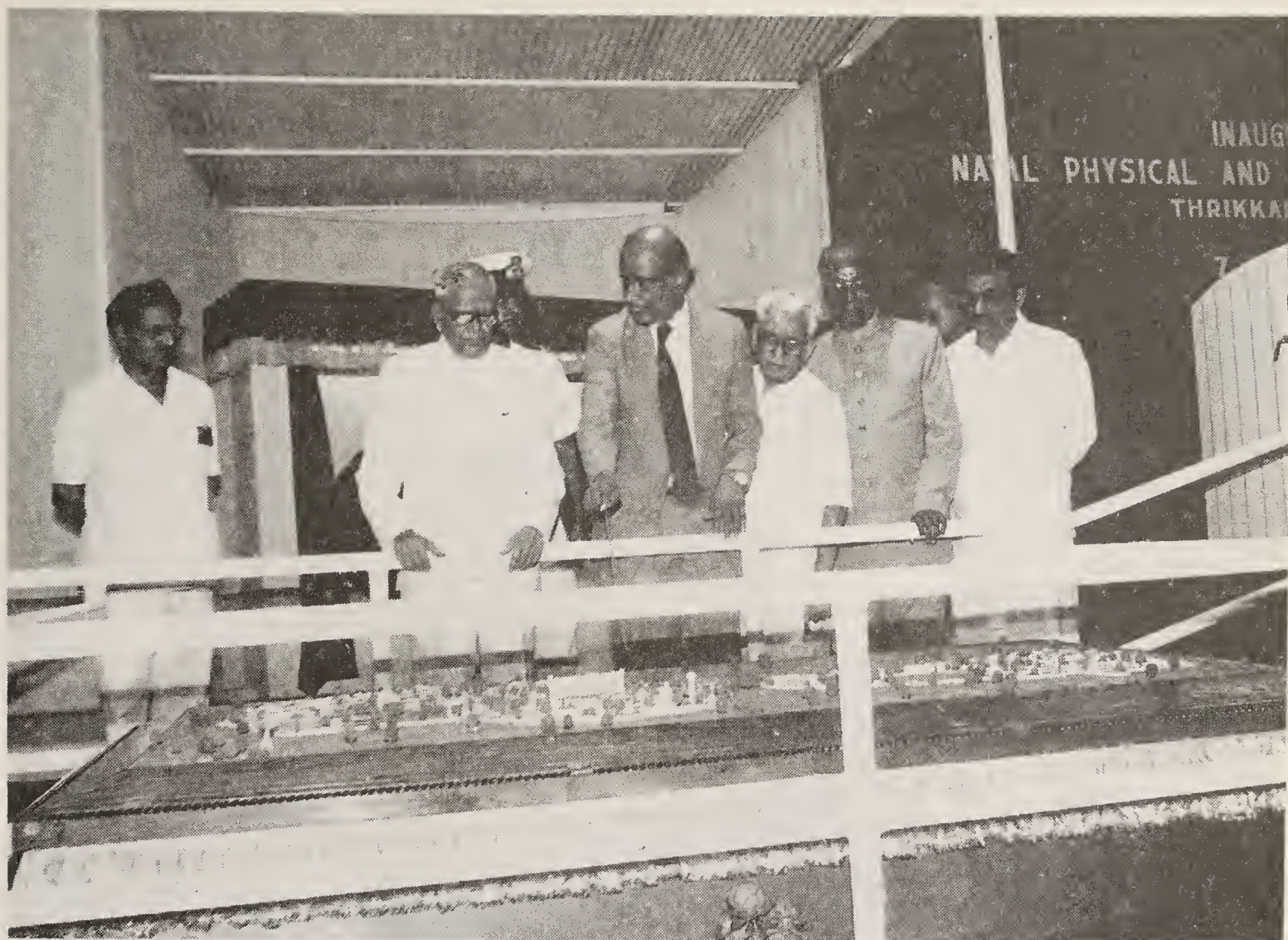
*Releasing a commemorative stamp on the late Prime Minister,
Shri Rajiv Gandhi, New Delhi, 20 August 1991*



*In conversation with the Cambodian Prime Minister, Mr Hun Sen, New Delhi,
4 October 1991*



Addressing the troops, Tawang (Arunachal Pradesh), 18 October 1991



*Looking at the model of the NPO Laboratory Complex, Kochi,
7 November 1991*



*At the diamond jubilee celebrations of the Tamilnadu Cricket Association,
Madras, 9 November 1991*



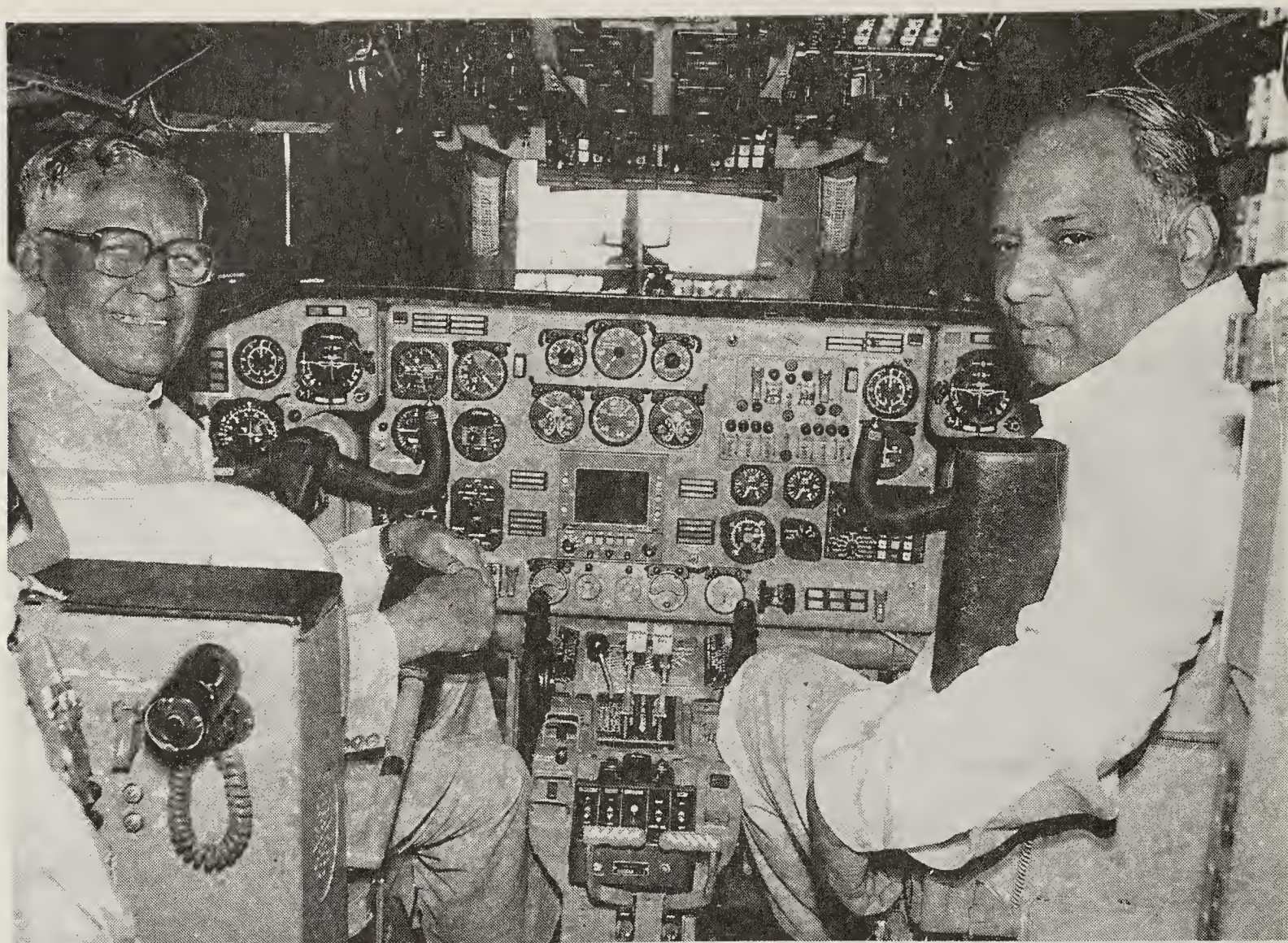
*Paying homage to Indira Gandhi on her birth anniversary at Shaktisthala,
Delhi, 19 November 1991*



In conversation with the Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr Girija Prasad Koirala, New Delhi, 6 December 1991



With the Prime Minister of China, Mr Li Peng, New Delhi, 12 December 1991



In the cockpit of an IAF aircraft, New Delhi, 10 March 1992



*With the Secretary General of the United Nations Dr Boutros Ghali,
New Delhi, 23 April 1992*



*Paying floral tributes to Dr B.R. Ambedkar on his 100th birth anniversary,
New Delhi, 14 April 1992*



Receiving a scroll of honour from the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Shri Shivraj Patil at the farewell by the Members of Parliament, New Delhi, 21 July 1992

the cause of international understanding and world peace. To commemorate his great contribution to the cause we honour each year, a personality who has made a notable and lasting contribution to international understanding, through the Award which bears Jawaharlal Nehru's name.

A galaxy of eminent world personalities has received the Award, forming a string of rare gems, each with a sparkle and hue of its own. To that precious seriation, is added today, another 'gem of the purest ray serene'.

President Yassir Arafat is the very embodiment of the aspirations of the people of Palestine. President Arafat symbolizes the fire for freedom which illuminates the spirit of his people. He is a fighter for a cause that is just. His vision and determination provide direction and strength to his people. In requesting him to accept the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, for the year 1988, we honour his steadfastness, his valour and his tireless devotion to the cause of Palestine. But we do more. We also honour the valiant and patient Palestinian people, and their nation-state.

No stranger to this land, President Arafat has long regarded India as the home of great causes. And we have always welcomed him as a true and sincere friend. The cause that he represents, the cause for which he has fought, with dedication and commitment, courage and valour, all these long years, is a cause that has had the support of the Indian leaders, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

And as early as 1938, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote with vision as well as conviction that "Palestine is an Arab country and Arab interests must prevail there."

Jawaharlal Nehru's commitment to peace and to international understanding were crucial to his view of the world. Peace is what harmonizes contradictions amongst men and issues. But peace, ironically enough, has to be waged. It has to be waged against suspicions, distrust, prejudice, violence and above all untruth.

All the world's scriptures tell us that the only true conquests are those of peace. And non-violence is its centre-piece. Non-violence comprises the true and continuing practice of tolerance, compassion and concern for all humanity, co-existence and the celebration of diversity.

We are conscious of the hardships and injustices that the Palestinian people have suffered, through the twists and turns of man-made historical events. We applaud Yassir Arafat's initiatives in seeking a peaceful and negotiated liberation of his people. India supports the State of Palestine. India is convinced that the Palestinian people must secure their inalienable rights, regain their land, and be enabled to seek peace in their own independent home. This, and only this, shall lead to a durable, just and comprehensive settlement of all the problems of that troubled region.

The peoples of India and Palestine have shared a great deal in the caravan of time. During the years of our struggle for freedom, our great leaders regarded the liberation of Palestine as part of our own objectives. Palestine and India have had one shared and searing experience: the experience of having suffered the tragedy of partition. India vigorously opposed the

partition of Palestine. What was at stake was the fundamental issue of nationhood. We believed then as we do now that it is possible for a common nationhood to bind all the people living in a particular land into a larger consciousness of a common motherland. And we wondered how the civilized world could accept the partition of Palestine. In the name of justice for a few, injustice must not be inflicted on the many. Friends, it is a matter of gratification that international tensions are slackening. We are seeing the beginning of a new and co-operative world order. Negotiations and dialogue are replacing confrontation and unilateral action. These positive trends must be fostered and encouraged. We must ensure that the benediction of these trends illuminates the Palestinian issue. We believe that an honourable and peaceful settlement in Palestine must be reached.

President Arafat's struggle to win dignity and liberty for his people has been a ceaseless one. He has covered a long distance. In the process he has become the symbol for all that is progressive and liberal in the Arab world. His visionary statesmanship bears the hallmark of a great and determined leader. In honouring President Arafat with this Award, we honour the Spirit of Man which quests for truth and peace. We honour a Pilgrim Soul who has striven to promote understanding. Understanding, not in the limited sense of knowing or having knowledge about, but in its wider, broader sense of nurturing respect for the diversity of cultures and societies. The understanding we celebrate today is the one that flows from empathy, open-mindedness and generosity of spirit.

In his actions and in his writings, Jawaharlal Nehru was an outstanding exponent of this comprehensive understanding. Nehru respected the dauntlessness of the human spirit. He once said:

"In spite of innumerable failings, man throughout the ages has sacrificed his life and all he held dear for an ideal, for truth, for faith, for country and honour. That ideal may change, but the capacity for self-sacrifice continues, and because of that much may be forgiven man, and it is impossible for him to lose hope."

President Arafat, you have never lost hope. And you have never lost the capacity for self-sacrifice. May your steadfast journey lead you to total victory.

It is with great pleasure that I confer on President Yassir Arafat the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding.

India and Portugal

MY WIFE AND I are deeply touched by the warm and affectionate welcome you have extended to us. I would like to express our sincere thanks, and that of my delegation, for this welcome.

We are delighted to be in your beautiful country, and I derive personal satisfaction from the fact that it has been given to me to be the first President of India to pay a State visit to Portugal. I bring to you, Excellency, and to the people of Portugal the greetings and good wishes of the 800 million people of India. On their behalf I thank you for the kind words and the sentiments you have expressed about my country and its people.

We recall with great pleasure your visit to India in 1974 as Foreign Minister. We regard you not only as a great leader of your nation, but as a world statesman of vision and courage. You have contributed to the building of trust where there was mistrust, and dialogue where there was stalemate. And it gives us particular satisfaction to recall that you were instrumental in enabling five States to achieve independence in a single year.

If our planet's geography has distanced India from Portugal, its history has brought us together. Venturesome sons of Portugal sought the sea-way to India, famed for its cities and spiceries five hundred years ago. Time has a logic of its own; triumphs and reverses take their places like different colours in the rainbow of human history. Today India and Portugal are both Republics. And are endeavouring together for the creation of a non-violent and humane world order.

When India became independent over four decades ago, its foreign policy was invested with a special vision of the human family—the concept propounded in the *Rig Veda: Vasudheiva Kutumbakam*—the world is one family. Our external relations are rooted in this basic philosophy and our initiatives in foreign policy are based on it.

At that time the world was sharply divided. As the cold war developed and as the opposing military blocs were formed, Jawaharlal Nehru refused to be drawn in. He called for peace, for an end to tensions and hostility and for peaceful coexistence among nations. The Non-aligned Movement, of which the seed was planted even as the barriers of the cold war were coming up, helped the newly independent small nations to preserve their independence of thought and action and devote attention to the challenging tasks of development.

Over the last four decades, India has been engaged in the stupendous task of improving the lot of its masses. We are aware of the enormity of the task and we propose to face it with determination. Successive Governments in India have endeavoured to provide acceptable conditions of life for this

segment of our population. Much progress has been made in the attempt to eradicate centuries of inertia and neglect. The success achieved so far is a matter of satisfaction to us though we realize that a great distance still remains to be traversed.

We have attained self-sufficiency in foodgrains production. Our programmes in this sector have been so successful that we can now think in terms of export of foodgrains. The fact that we have done so despite our great increase in population adds to the credit of our achievement. Our agriculture, which used to be predominantly dependent on monsoons is now largely insulated from the vagaries of weather.

In the industrial sector also great changes have taken place. The aggregate industrial output has increased five-fold since Independence. The share of basic and capital goods industries has increased from less than five per cent at the time of our Independence to about 50 per cent.

A notable feature since Independence has been the significant growth of, and major support for, science and technology. This has resulted in the development of indigenous and self-reliant capabilities in key sectors of national development such as atomic energy, space, industrial, medical, agricultural and defence research, and creation of a large infrastructure. India has a reservoir of three million trained science and technology personnel today.

Our thrust is now directed towards rural India where a majority of the population lives.

Thus, the India of today is very different from the India which Vasco da Gama discovered in 1498, and on which so much of Europe wished to establish itself—the India of pepper and spices, of silk and peacocks. Modern India, while cherishing its rich and diverse cultural heritage, is marching abreast of the times in every sphere of industrial and scientific activity.

Just as India has changed significantly over the last four decades, the face of Europe has been incredibly transformed in the last few months. Walls have collapsed, doors and windows opened. The pleasant breeze of freedom now wafts across to hitherto inaccessible nooks and corners. By and large most of these changes have been peaceful.

Recent events have vindicated our faith in the basic principles of the Non-aligned Movement. In the changed climate prevailing now, a reassessment of the belligerent postures is inevitable, and a sober dialogue towards peace and disarmament must begin among the superpowers. We also believe that the resources earlier devoted to armaments and weapons of destruction should now be diverted, substantially if not fully, to promote the peace and development of the Third World countries.

The release of Dr Nelson Mandela, a great patriot and freedom fighter of this century, is a cause for rejoicing and celebration all over the world. But we must observe with concern and regret that there is yet no real progress towards dismantlement of the abhorrent practice of apartheid. We strongly believe that international pressure needs to be maintained on the South African regime by continuing mandatory economic sanctions.

Just a few days ago, a new independent State was born in South-West Africa. We wish Namibia every success in its efforts at national reconciliation and development. Even as we celebrate the hard won and long delayed independence of Namibia and hope fervently for peaceful change in South Africa, let us reflect on the people of Palestine who have been struggling for a homeland of their own for more than four decades.

In our subcontinent, India is determined to promote and strengthen close and harmonious relations with all its neighbours. We firmly believe that all outstanding problems must be settled through dialogue, on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We will work with perseverance towards this goal, bilaterally as well as through the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation.

Excellency, I referred at the beginning to your visit to India in 1974 which was a historic one, in the normalization of ties between our two countries. My presence here on Portuguese soil will, I hope, contribute to a qualitative upgradation of co-operation and contact in all fields—political, cultural, economic and commercial. Our relationship must be worthy of the history we share, the values we hold dear, the capabilities and complementarities we possess, and the opportunities that the world has to offer.

Furthering Indo-British Co-operation

I THANK YOUR Majesty for your kind words of welcome and for the generous hospitality showered on me and my wife, and on those accompanying us. I am deeply touched by the sentiments you have expressed towards India and me personally.

The association between India and Britain is ancient and unique. It continues to exercise a hold on us. Much has been said about it and much will continue to be said, for we have gone deep into each other's awareness. We have taken a great deal from each other that is good and positive.

Even during the era of colonial rule, when Britain's sway over India was resisted, India was aware that the British had brought valuable new impulses to the country. India was avid for the new ideas and techniques brought by the British.

The Indian renaissance took shape under this impact. Mathematicians like Ramanujan, physicists like Raman and poets like Tagore were the products of the synthesis of our traditions with the new knowledge which the British brought to India.

Generations of India's leadership received a good part of their intellectual

training in Britain. Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, studied law in London. Jawaharlal Nehru, whose centenary was celebrated last year, spent many formative years in Britain. They, and others before and after them, absorbed values which they took home, to incorporate them into India's own experience.

We are different in many respects, separated by distance and inhabited by different peoples. But we have certain shared and unshakeable assumptions about the manner in which we should be governed. The most significant among these is the practice of parliamentary democracy. Our ancient tradition of grass roots democratic institutions was regenerated and amplified through the contact with Britain. After Independence, India moved smoothly into a parliamentary form of democracy of the Westminster type as our friends in British Parliament are well aware of. India is one of the very few developing countries that has been able to assimilate the system and work it successfully.

We have had nine general elections. The people of India may be poor, many of them may be illiterate, but few societies in the world can match the Indian people in the confidence and maturity with which they exercise their democratic rights. Commentators who used to talk patronisingly of the 'democratic experiment' in relation to India must acknowledge the democratic expertise that India has developed since Independence. The peaceful transition of Governments through elections is now an established procedure in India.

But in looking at Britain today, we do not cast our eyes only at our historic association. We have greatly admired the progress made here in recent years. We have seen a significant turnaround in economic performance, with an impressive record of growth. Important new skills have been developed and difficult problems have been tackled with outstanding courage. Today's Britain is more prosperous, perhaps, than ever before. We rejoice at your success. It demonstrates the same spirit of initiative and enterprise that carried your energetic and vigorous people to all parts of the globe.

We have been engaged in India in the challenging task of securing acceptable conditions of life for our large population. A measure of success has been achieved in the attempt to eradicate centuries of inertia and neglect. We are justly proud of our success in increasing agricultural production to the point where we are self-sufficient in food.

The future is promising. Through extensive investment in education, we have built up a large reservoir of skilled scientists and technologists, and other trained personnel, in whose hands our productive capacity in many fields has increased immensely. We have eliminated some of the diseases which afflicted our population, and have done much to provide basic medical care to our people. As a measure of our progress, I may cite the fact that our life expectancy has increased from 32 to 60 in the last four decades.

A large new middle class has emerged in India which has achieved a quality of life that was inconceivable a generation ago.

But significant as they are, these achievements represent only a beginning.

A great deal remains to be accomplished. To achieve an equitable distribution of the fruits of our achievements and to eliminate poverty are absorbing and difficult requirements. We approach this work with determination and without any illusions about the difficulties ahead.

In this endeavour we have always sought the help and co-operation of our friends abroad to supplement our own efforts at home.

It is our experience over the years that Britain has been a consistent friend and partner in our trade and development process. Britain has been a generous and thoughtful source of development aid. We see in the resurgence of Britain, greatly enhanced opportunities for furthering our economic partnership. Britain is among the most valued of our partners and we would very much wish to see an expansion in our economic relations.

A new dimension has been added to our relationship by the presence in Britain of a large community of Indian origin. These people of Indian origin are for the most part naturalized in Britain, and the new generation are British by birth, yet they retain their feelings for the mother country. We in turn cannot feel distant from them. Wise policies have been adopted by successive British Governments that have permitted this community to retain their cultural identity while being transformed into Your Majesty's loyal subjects. Britain's Indian community is a natural bridge between the two countries.

Your Majesty, I am here at a time of great changes across the world. A new spirit animates world equations. We have suddenly seen dramatic progress towards goals of peaceful coexistence, easing of tensions and international co-operation which we all yearned for. As the cold war developed and as opposing armed camps grew up, Jawaharlal Nehru, among other statesmen of the time, refused to be drawn in.

The Non-aligned Movement, of which the seed was planted at the same time as the barriers of the cold war were being set up, has enabled the emerging small independent States to stay clear of military groups and develop their own independent national and foreign policies. It is, therefore, a profound gratification for us that statesmen from East and West are now moving towards co-operation for peace. On all sides we see the spectacle of barriers being torn down, of troops being withdrawn and of armaments being reduced. We hope this process will be strengthened and developed further.

Disarmament is an issue that has been occupying the minds of people all over the world. India has been consistently pleading for global nuclear disarmament. Over the last few years, there have been some positive developments and the superpowers have started addressing the issue. With the recent historic changes in Europe, the time appears to be propitious now for carrying forward the dialogue in a purposeful and meaningful way.

In our region we are determined to maintain the closest and most harmonious relations with all our neighbours. Some nagging problems have been successfully tackled, others we hope will be sorted out to mutual satisfaction in the near future.

We want peace and goodwill in our region and we want to reassure all our

neighbours of our good intentions. We do not interfere in their affairs and we hope that there will be no interference in ours. That is the only way forward. We set great store by the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation. This represents the best hope for expressing the collective will of our region for co-operative development.

Among the most notable recent events is the release of the great patriot and freedom fighter, Nelson Mandela. The whole world has rejoiced and celebrated it. India was the first country to denounce the evil of apartheid at the United Nations and to seek effective action against it. Nelson Mandela's release is, therefore, a matter of special satisfaction for the Indian people. But the release of Mandela is not the end that one has been fighting for. It is but a significant step towards it. The dismantling of apartheid is the goal and we firmly believe that it is too early to relax pressure on the Pretoria regime by lifting comprehensive economic sanctions. These should be maintained till the ultimate goal is achieved.

Another issue that has defied solution is the question of homeland for the Palestinians. The people of Palestine should be permitted to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination. We wish the people of Palestine every success in their struggle for homeland, under the leadership of PLO, their sole and legitimate representative.

We greatly value the role of the Commonwealth in today's world and are convinced that it has a great deal more to offer in the future. The common inheritance of parliamentary democracy, rule of law and recognition of the dignity of man, like a thread running through a garland of variegated colours, binds the members of the Commonwealth. We are confident that this institution will continue to serve as a forum for free and frank discussions of all matters that preoccupy us.

Your Majesty, you symbolize this unique association and your personal contribution to the Commonwealth cause has won the admiration of all the members.

We last had the pleasure of seeing Your Majesty in our country in 1983 when we also hosted the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. Before that you paid a State visit in 1961. You have seen for yourself what high regard our people have for you and for Prince Philip. It is always a joy for us to have you in our midst. I hope we will have the pleasure and honour of receiving you again in our country before long.

An Enduring Link

I THANK YOU, very warmly and sincerely, for your generous hospitality. It gives me immense pleasure to be in the midst of such a distinguished gathering in this historic Guildhall.

This impressive setting brings to mind the fact that London has long been one of the great capital cities of the world with rich and varied experiences in political, economic and cultural fields. The city still continues to be the hub of industrial and financial activities in the wide world.

We in India acknowledge with pride the impact of this city on our economic life for centuries.

The earliest association between India and Britain grew not out of Whitehall but from the counting houses of this city. The British came to India as traders. The East India Company was founded in 1600 in England. By 1603 the merchant, John Mildenhall had obtained a firman from the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir allowing the Company to trade in India. More notable was the fact that though Sir Thomas Roe in 1616, was an envoy of the Crown, the mission was funded by the East India Company.

Britain has always been a champion of the cause of liberty and of human rights. It has zealously defended civic liberty. India went through a long struggle for its Independence and yet thanks to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi there was no rancour or bitterness between the countries. On the contrary we learnt to admire the British character and the British virtues.

In the ups and downs of our long association, one factor above all has served to bring our two countries and people closer together, and that is our commitment to parliamentary democracy. Independence gave us the right to choose our own form of government. We chose parliamentary democracy as the best form for the fulfilment of people's deepest aspirations. It was an ambitious choice, for no country before us had been able to combine democracy with the imperatives of developing an impoverished society. Our experience has shown that it is only through genuine popular rule that stable, harmonious progress is possible. We have adopted the parliamentary system and made it our own. The impulse is Indian and goes deep into our tradition; the form we have adopted owes much to British practice. Between India and Britain this is an enduring link.

The other major link, is of course, economic co-operation. We have been impressed by the resurgence of the British economy in recent years. There are many significant achievements to your credit. This has helped intensify the economic relations between our two countries. Britain is one of our most valued trading partners. A good part of our trade is in non-traditional items, the product of India's recently developed industries. We have also benefited

from British technical and financial assistance, which we greatly appreciate.

Speaking as I do in the middle of the financial centre of London, I must make a mention of British investment in India. Traditionally, Britain has been the largest foreign investor in our country, and even today the net worth of British assets probably exceeds that of any other country. We welcome investment from Britain and I hope that British investors will maintain and expand their interest in India. We envisage a special role for Non-Resident Indians of whom there are many in Britain. We are keen that the Indian community should act as a bridge between us and their country of adoption.

India has been progressively liberalizing their approach to foreign participation in its developmental efforts. We believe in interdependence as a path to the progress of the world's economy. In the modern context no country can advance as an isolated entity. Thanks to the assistance from bilateral as well as from multilateral sources and the generous transfer of technology from the developed countries, India has succeeded in expanding and diversifying her economy significantly. The institutional infrastructure for further progress has been put into position. Our success in agriculture is well-known and it is a matter of pride for us that our foodgrain production is now ample for our needs. We have a vast reservoir of trained personnel and our technological capabilities have greatly increased. With these advances, India has become an attractive area for foreign investors. The process of further liberalization consistent with national interests will continue in the years ahead of us.

Our foreign trade is expanding significantly, though it is inhibited by a number of adverse factors, including protectionist tendencies abroad. Despite anxieties about the balance of payments, the overall picture is encouraging.

In today's shrinking world, there is greater need than ever for enhanced understanding between nations. Events in one country often have unexpected repercussions on so many others. The dialogue on international economic relations needs effective revival. In the flood of stirring events that we have been witnessing we should not lose sight of the necessity for fair and equitable relations between countries. Without a proper international structure the poorer countries cannot hope to make adequate progress in their attempts to develop further.

Nowhere is the need for concerted international action more evident than in the area of environmental protection. We have noted the initiatives in Britain and in other industrialized countries to stimulate international action for the protection of the environment. We welcome such initiatives and seek to co-operate actively with them.

This is a period of unprecedented change in international relations. It is a hopeful moment in contemporary history when barriers are being lowered and the voice of the people is determining their own destiny. There have been momentous developments in Eastern Europe.

Nor can we fail to salute the great South African patriot Nelson Mandela who has come to exemplify the spirit of man in his long quest for the liberation of his people. Namibia has come to full independence only a few

days ago. These and other developments lead us to hope that we have indeed embarked on a new era where cold war tensions will give way to a spirit of co-operation. That is our devout hope for the future.

Living in Communion with Nature

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to present the Award named after Indira Gandhi, to Norway's eminent daughter, Madame Gro Harlem Brundtland, who has shared so many ideals which illumined Mrs Gandhi's own life. May I extend my cordial felicitations to you, Madame Brundtland, on this richly deserved honour. You stand not just for an individual's determined espousal of beliefs: not just for Norway's and Scandinavia's instinctive kinship with nature but for a global awareness of the web of life on earth.

Indira Gandhi was fond of and often quoted the ancient Sanskrit saying: *Vasudheiva Kutumbakam*, meaning, 'The World is One Family'.

We are aware that you share a great many of the goals which Indira Gandhi held dear to her heart; a striving for balance between man and nature, for harmony between fellow beings; a quest for peace, and the dismantlement of nuclear arsenals— a commitment to development with equity in international economic relations.

The awarding of the Indira Gandhi Peace Prize, 1988, to you, Madame Brundtland, is a recognition of your stature as a distinguished leader of your country and as an outstanding public spokesperson on global issues of vital concern to humanity. The Prize recognizes, in particular, your effective articulation of the Scandinavian perspective on Environment issues, as well as your singular success in making these issues central to the thought-processes of the entire international community.

Indira Gandhi often said that her earliest memories were of a childhood spent in natural surroundings. She said of herself that she had the good fortune of growing up with a sense of kinship with nature, in all its varied manifestations. Deprived of the presence of her father for long periods due to the vicissitudes of our freedom struggle, she found in mountains, rivers and trees both a companionship and a benediction. Animals in the wild and birds fascinated her. For Indira Gandhi, human life and nature were not two things apart. Man and the environment were not only consistent with each other but were in fact, totally interdependent. There was no conflict in her mind between the needs of the family of man and those of his tabernacle, namely, the environment.

Indira Gandhi's interest in nature and the environment stemmed from her care for human life. Her abiding interest in the disadvantaged and the downtrodden, the weak and the oppressed led her to devote tirelessly to the improvement of their lot. But even as she worked for human welfare, she knew that the tone and wholesomeness of the human condition can only be vouchsafed through a wise interaction with the environment.

Such wisdom is part of our heritage in India. In its hymn to the earth, the five thousand year old *Atharva Veda* states:

“What of thee I dig out,
Let there be quick replenishment;
Let me not hit the vitals or thy heart.”

Nomadic and pastoral civilizations which directly depended on natural forces, possessed an intuitive understanding of limits which ought not to be transgressed. It was in the industrial age, with the increasing arrogance of its own powers and belief in mastery over the elements, that human society began to neglect and then seriously damage the earth's rich and diverse ecological heritage. The deteriorating environment and the threats that it may pose to life itself, are now compelling us to relearn lessons that we have all but forgotten.

Awareness is growing in the world, of the precarious basis of modern society and the relentless and mindless exploitation of nature's resources on which it is founded.

Madame Brundtland, your work has underscored the truth that if humankind is to survive, it has to live in peace with itself and in harmony with the environment. As chairperson of the World Commission on Environment, you have carried forward this vision through an articulation of the concept of sustainable development. The Report of the World Commission has made a demonstrable impact and has profoundly influenced thinking and attitudes around the world. It has spelt out a strategy of development which meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The very considerable efforts being made in national governments, international organizations, environmental groups and among ordinary folk everywhere to incorporate the ideas and objectives of the Report in their endeavours, bear testimony to this fact. The concept of sustainable development has now caught an entire generation's imagination.

Your untiring efforts, Madame Brundtland, have greatly contributed to bringing issues of environment and development to the forefront of human consciousness.

There is now a clear recognition that the protection of the environment is a shared and common concern of humanity and manifestly requires a heightened degree of international co-operation. Any damage done to the environment will affect us all—nature and individuals, rich and poor alike.

But, simultaneously, it is being recognized that the burden of meeting this shared challenge must be borne by countries equitably and in relation to their

capacities and resources. The environment must not be dealt with as yet another North-South issue. If we are to effectively deal with global environmental problems, we have to forge a partnership which seeks simultaneously to protect and serve the environment taking care, at the same time, of the special requirements of developing countries.

The developing countries in particular need to be helped through additional financial resources and access to environmentally safe technology on affordable terms and conditions. Your work has helped us see that in developing societies environmental protection cannot be seen in isolation of economic development. In fact, in the long run neither is possible without the other. There cannot, therefore, be any attempt to find solutions by freezing development. The answer to smoking chimneys and vehicle exhausts does not lie in banning factories and motor cars but in modifying their operation.

You have made out a case for a much broader view of environment policy, not confining it to air, water, waste and noise pollution, but extending it to cover energy, agriculture, transportation, trade and economic development.

Recent changes in the world have sharpened the focus on this perception. Rapid developments in science, technology and communications are reducing distances and bringing the world closer together. There exists now a better chance to grasp the realities of interdependence. In the interest of all countries and all peoples we must fashion enduring structures for an equitable management of this interdependence.

To give an example, new control mechanisms for placing limits on the production and consumption of environment-damaging substances are being evolved. But these must take into account historical and existing asymmetries in production and consumption levels. Here, the well-accepted principle 'polluter pays' must apply.

A decision taken in GATT that restricts markets for goods in which the developing countries have an advantage, could slow down the development of those countries and may in turn, lead to increased pressures on environment. It is unfortunate, that some IMF conditionalities for a new line of credit are such as can be environmentally deleterious.

We believe that it would only be equitable for those who are principally responsible for the current state of environmental degradation to bear the responsibility of financing its reduction. We believe that environmentally benign technologies ought to become available on a preferential and non-commercial basis, to those who require it. If this does not happen, it would be almost impossible for developing countries to adopt environmentally safe and desirable technologies, much as they would like to.

In this context, we are sincerely appreciative of Norway's efforts to develop better international understanding and to assist developing countries. We have admiration for the part that you, Madame Brundtland, have personally played and the commitment that you have brought to bear on all issues of international co-operation and in the cause of development. On issues of environment and development we find that minds and attitudes are indeed changing. You have made an outstanding contribution to that most

fundamental of changes. There can be no greater tribute to your achievements.

May I once again say what a pleasure it is for me to present the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development to you, Madame Gro Harlem Brundtland. Together with all those present here in this hall, I wish to extend to you our very best wishes for continuing success and fulfilment in your noble endeavours for the preservation of this good earth.

Improving Bilateral Co-operation

I AM DELIGHTED to welcome you, Mr President once again to our country. The cordiality and co-operation between our two countries enhance with every exchange of such visits. Last year I had the pleasure of being in Seychelles and enjoying the rich verdant foliage of your hills and valleys and the friendliness of your radiant people. Fragrant memories of the beauty of your country and its charming people are still fresh in our minds.

While I was in Mahe, I had expressed my admiration for the way Seychelles has preserved its natural sweetness and environment. I hoped that your efforts in this direction will receive universal recognition. I was, therefore, very happy to learn that Your Excellency was among the very few Heads of State invited by the UN to address on the World Environment Day. The need to preserve our environment is so imperative that no country, no human being can afford to ignore it. Any degradation of our environment is fraught with dire consequences to the succeeding generations and to the future of human species itself. Future generations will not forgive us if we deprive them of a healthy and wholesome life.

Unfortunately, developing countries like Seychelles and India lack sufficient resources for preserving the ecology from depredation by the compulsions of life of the weaker sections of society. A mechanism has, therefore, to be found for a global fund to which the developed countries would contribute in proportion to their consumption of the earth resources.

The global political and economic order has undergone more changes in the last one year, than in the four decades since the end of the Second World War. On the political side, the virtual elimination of tensions between the superpowers and the growing trend towards genuine disarmament have to be welcomed. These developments have, to an extent, lessened the dangers of a major human catastrophe and have brightened the prospects of co-operation

towards achieving the lofty goals set forth by the founders of the Non-aligned Movement.

On the economic side, however, the situation of the developing countries has worsened with no relief in sight from the burden of external debts. The developing countries are also facing progressively tougher tariffs and trade barriers to their exports. Countries exporting primary products are also buffeted by wide fluctuations in the prices of commodities, making their balance of payments situation precarious. These questions need to be addressed with urgency and vigour.

The security situation in our immediate neighbourhood has also worsened considerably. The crisis in the Gulf calls for a political, non-military solution. India has registered its opposition, to the use of force in interstate relations and also called for prompt withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait whose sovereignty must be restored. Events in the Gulf have caused great human suffering and we have launched, at a great expense to ourselves, an effort to evacuate the citizens of our country from Kuwait and Iraq. In any event, this crisis has caused greater militarization in the Indian Ocean area, a danger which both our countries foresaw and cautioned against. In fact it has been the endeavour of both our countries to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. The need for that appears even greater today.

India is very keen to maintain good neighbourly relations with countries around her and to strengthen SAARC, for generating greater co-operation amongst the countries of South Asia. We have made good progress in our relations with a number of neighbours, particularly with Nepal, where peaceful democratic change has ushered in a new era. Unfortunately, Pakistan has not accepted the hand of friendship and co-operation extended by India. There is clear evidence of Pakistani support for and abetment of the terrorist and secessionist elements in Punjab and Kashmir. Despite this, we are continuing our efforts to dissuade Pakistan from interference in India's internal affairs and to embark on the path of friendship and co-operation.

The bilateral co-operation between our two countries has grown over the years. However, there is always scope for improvement. Our Joint Commission, which is having its first meeting during your visit will, no doubt, identify new areas of co-operative action. I am glad that Indian teachers, doctors, engineers, chartered accountants and other experts are rendering useful service towards the economic development of your country.

Excellency, though this visit of yours is too brief, I am sure you will have a fruitful exchange of views which will impart the necessary impetus to a further strengthening of our bonds of friendship and bilateral co-operation.

Ending the Tyranny of Apartheid

IN THIS HISTORIC hall, several State banquets have been held in the past in honour of emperors, kings and Heads of State. But today we are proud to welcome one who reigns not over lands and territories but over the hearts of millions upon millions of the world's people, black and white, young and old, rich as well as poor.

We regard you, Dr Mandela, as an emblem of the world's struggle for human dignity.

We welcome you, as the symbol of Africa's revolt against colonialism and racism, as the foremost freedom fighter of the African continent and as the pre-eminent representative of South Africa's determination to end the tyranny of apartheid. We welcome you as a man of rare courage and even rarer patience. But, above all, we welcome you, Dr Mandela, as a man who has conquered fear, despair and hate.

Despite your long years of incarceration which would have broken the spirit of a lesser man, you have preferred the path of faith to suspicion, reconciliation to rancour and reason to prejudice. Undaunted by difficulty, you have overcome impediments by your single-minded tenacity. Unaffected by the world's praise, you have continued to regard yourself as a humble soldier in the cause.

In all these attributes, you remind us of the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who enabled us to resist and repulse British colonialism—and retain British goodwill. As we welcome you, we are reminded that the Mahatma arrived on the shores of your country in 1893—at the age of twenty-four. He spent over two decades in South Africa, two decades in which he forged and then wielded the unprecedented weapon of satyagraha to fight, non-violently, unjust laws. It was the same weapon that he used in India with spectacular success during our freedom struggle.

We are gratified that so many senior leaders of the African National Congress and its National Executive Committee have been able to come to India with you. While Mr Thomas N'kobi, Treasurer-General, has been in India earlier, this is the first visit for others. We welcome all of them most warmly.

Over the years, we have been fortunate and privileged to receive many South African leaders of the freedom struggle. We recall the visit of Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo and Dr G.M. Naicker in 1947, soon after they signed the historic pact of co-operation between the African and Indian Congress.

We recall the visit of the late Dr Abdulla Abdur Rahman, President of the African People's Organization, in 1925 and that of the late Chief Albert Lutuli in 1938.

And, we particularly recall the visits of your comrade-in-arms Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress. I take this opportunity to convey to him, through you, our best wishes for his speedy recovery.

Oliver Tambo and you, Dr Mandela, were impelled to defy the law and suffer the consequences when you saw the brutal repression of your people in South Africa. Gandhiji, too was an attorney practising in Durban and Johannesburg when he was moved by what he saw of racial discrimination in your country. He was witness to the extreme brutality with which the Zulu people, resisting an unjust poll tax, were suppressed, with thousands being killed or brutally flogged. That experience left a deep impression on him.

It was a few months thereafter that he dedicated his life to the non-violent defiance of unjust laws, and forged the weapon of satyagraha.

Our struggles, the Indian and the South African, have, therefore, been twins in the cradle of revolution. And so it has been only natural for us in India to watch every phase and unfolding sequence of South Africa's fight against apartheid, with instant and complete empathy. We have marvelled over how the African people rose for their rights with you, Dr Mandela as the Volunteer-in-Chief and first resister in the 'Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws'—a great passive resistance campaign of which Gandhiji himself would have been proud. When prison doors closed behind you, we knew instinctively that yours would be an epic and victorious struggle ultimately. Our leaders had taught us that:

“Freedom's struggle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son
Though baffled oft is ever won.”

It was the privilege of our first Prime Minister and architect of modern India, Jawaharlal Nehru, to impart an incisive international edge to the struggle of the people of South Africa. He said in a broadcast on September 7, 1946, “In South Africa Racism is a State doctrine and our people are putting up a heroic struggle against the tyranny of a racial minority. If this racial doctrine is going to be tolerated, it must inevitably lead to vast conflicts and world disasters.”

Even before India attained formal Independence, India launched its onslaught against apartheid. In October 1946, for the first time in the history of the United Nations, India brought before it the question of racial discrimination in South Africa. With the assistance of an ANC team sent from South Africa, India got the UN General Assembly to pass a resolution declaring it to be in the higher interest of humanity to put an immediate end to racial persecution and discrimination. Smt Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the leader of India's delegation to the General Assembly, played a crucial role in that initiative.

India is proud of the fact that it was the first country to impose sanctions against the South African Government as a sign of our abhorrence of apartheid and of our solidarity with the people of South Africa.

Since that time we have consistently endeavoured, in co-operation with our

friends from independent African countries, to keep the question of apartheid uppermost on the international political agenda.

Our commitment in India to the people of South Africa cuts across the boundaries of religion, creed and politics. The commitment is based on a national consensus and, I am sure, as you travel across India you would witness for yourself the vast reservoir of goodwill and affection which the people of India have for you personally and for the people of South Africa as a whole.

It is gratifying that collective international action aimed at exerting pressure on the Government of South Africa, combined with the struggle waged by the people of South Africa, has led to the commencement of a dialogue between the representatives of the people and the South African Government. The world is watching the progress of these talks with great interest and concern.

We in India are familiar with the tactics used by colonial and minority regimes to divide and rule subjugated people. Indeed, we have been victims of those stratagems. We cannot but extend, therefore, the fullest support to your strivings to weld South Africa into a nation of many races and religions, working out its destiny in a common bond of democracy, peace and progress. As the largest secular, multiracial, multiethnic and multilingual democracy in the world, we hail your endeavours in this direction.

In the last four decades, India, has moved along the path of self-reliance and economic independence. Protectionism in trade and other manifestations of economic neo-colonialism have placed impediments in our progress. The recent Gulf crisis has also put hurdles on the path of our economic development. Nevertheless, we continue to share with friends abroad, particularly with our brethren in Africa, our achievements in the field of science and technology. We regard post-apartheid South Africa as a future partner in economic, social, technological and cultural development. We aspire to convert it into a model of Afro-Asian solidarity and co-operation. I have no doubt that the relationship between India and South Africa of the future will be an example of close commercial, economic and cultural interaction, geared to the uplift of the peoples of our two countries.

We believe that until apartheid is dismantled and majority rule established in South Africa, it is the duty of the international community to exert its pressure on the minority Government in Pretoria. In this context, we fully support the ANC's position on international sanctions. We shall continue to maintain this position at international fora, so that the South African Government enters into meaningful negotiations with the representatives of the people with the objective of ushering in an era of genuine democracy.

There is no doubt that you, Dr Mandela, and your compatriots will soon see the realization of the destiny enshrined in the following words contained in the Freedom Charter:

“That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.”

India and Pakistan

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you to India once again as the High Commissioner for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

I greatly appreciate the warm greetings which you have brought from His Excellency President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, His Excellency Mian Nawaz Sharif. I fully reciprocate their sentiments and would request you, in turn, to convey my warm personal regards and hopes for a new era of co-operative relationship. I would also like to convey, through you, to the Government and the people of Pakistan the feeling of deep friendship and abiding goodwill that the Government and the people of India have for them. The people of India have specially rejoiced in the steps being taken to consolidate the democratic process in Pakistan.

India and Pakistan have much in common: not only a common history, and a shared cultural heritage, but even common problems. The changing international environment is also posing similar challenges. There is a need, perhaps more than ever before, for us to pause, ponder, and work out what we can jointly do to enrich the lives of the peoples in the subcontinent that we both belong to and share.

As you would no doubt have discovered during your earlier stay in India, the Government and the people of India harbour no ill will towards Pakistan. We respect the security and sovereignty of Pakistan. The people in India cherish the warmest sentiments of friendship towards your country, and the people. We must seize the opportunities that present themselves for developing our relations; we should attempt, through co-operative endeavours, to introduce a relationship of trust and confidence, and to remove the irritants on the basis of the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement.

The Government of India is firmly committed to the establishment of co-operative and good neighbourly relations between our two countries. This would be in the interest of our peoples and would serve the cause of peace and stability in our region, and, indeed, in the world. Unfortunately, of late, our relations have come under some strain. We welcome, however, the discussions that have commenced between our two countries at the level of Foreign Secretaries to reduce the present tensions in our relationship, and to carry the bilateral dialogue forward. It is my hope and belief that this process will be taken to its logical conclusion.

We welcome the steps that had been taken earlier to enhance cultural exchanges between our two countries as well as to ease visa restrictions. We hope these will be meaningfully implemented and that there can be further interaction and relaxation. These exchanges will assist in promoting people to

people contact and provide the necessary foundation for better mutual understanding.

India regards SAARC as a most valuable forum for promoting co-operation among the countries of the region. We look forward to working with Pakistan, including at the forthcoming Summit, later this month, to further strengthen this organization so that it can successfully address the problems of development that confront us and promote collaboration in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields, between the countries of the region.

Mr High Commissioner, I appreciate the commitment you have undertaken to dedicate yourself to the cause of better relations between our two countries. I once again warmly welcome you to India and assure you that you will have every support from me and my Government in the discharge of your duties.

A Multifaceted Relationship

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to accept your Letter of Commission as High Commissioner of Australia and welcome you to India. I am sure your stay here will be pleasant and fruitful.

Relations between our two countries have been friendly and cordial for the last several decades, even before formal diplomatic relations were established almost half a century ago.

During the six-year tenure of your eminent predecessor, H.E. Graham Feakes, our multifaceted relationship witnessed frequent high-level exchanges.

Over the last decade, our bilateral trade has increased significantly and diversified into new areas. The full potential of our economic relationship is, however, yet to be realized. I am confident that your considerable experience will contribute to enhancing bilateral trade, economic exchanges and scientific and technological collaborations between our two countries.

Excellency, as we prepare to enter the 21st century, our shared attributes of parliamentary democracy, rule of law, a quest for equality and social justice and a more equitable international system, serve as ideal partners in progress. In an international environment where, barring a few exceptions, conflict is giving way to co-operation, both Australia and India can do much to address the problems of development in the Asia Pacific region. We are happy to note and we welcome wholeheartedly Australia's efforts to amalgamate with its

Asian milieu. Our two countries have worked together in the United Nations, Commonwealth and other international fora. We have co-operated in the international efforts for resolving the vexed Cambodian issue; we have jointly opposed the emergence of racism in Fiji; we have worked in unison for the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa as also tried to find ways and means for protecting the global environment. My Government looks forward to carrying on this process of co-operation both in bilateral and multilateral spheres. This relationship will be furthered best through our mutual appreciation of each other's sensitivities and concerns.

Let me assure you, Excellency, that in the fulfilment of your duties, you will get every co-operation from my Government. I wish you all the best in your endeavours for further strengthening the friendly relations between our two countries. May I request you to convey the best wishes of the people and the Government of India and my personal good wishes to Her Majesty the Queen and to H.E. the Governor General of Australia and to the Government and the people of Australia.

Rediscovery of India

ON BEHALF OF the Government and the people of India, it gives me great pleasure to welcome you, Mr President, Mrs Weizsaecker and the distinguished members of your delegation to our country. We are deeply appreciative of the fact that you have found it possible to visit us despite preoccupations with several problems facing the world. That you have found the time to visit India notwithstanding the anxiety and stress of these times, is an earnest of the deep and abiding ties between your country and ours. We are doubly happy to welcome you, Mr President, as the Head of State of unified Germany.

You are rightly regarded as a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of the German people in a peaceful, converging and democratic Europe. Our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru spoke about the Berlin Wall on August 28, 1961 in our Parliament: "I hope it is a temporary barrier because it is quite absurd to have a great city like this with a kind of a Great Wall of China dividing it into two..." The two Germany coalesced into one in October 1990. We have rejoiced in this historic achievement of your gifted people.

My visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in September 1989 is a warm and gratifying memory. We were struck by the evidence of the progress and stability which your country has achieved with its democratic federalized

structure and spirit of constructive enterprise. We found everywhere an ardent desire for peace and progress. The special bond which has linked our two peoples was apparent in many of our meetings and exchanges. In your welcome speech you had yourself made a felicitous reference to this bond, quoting Tagore, “we can only retain happiness by passing it on”.

May I recall that your great poet Goethe wrote:

“Orient and Occident
Are never more to be parted.”

This little poem which is so profound in its depth and meaning seems to symbolize your own qualities as a born reconciler and harmonizer.

Mr President, the first encounter between India and Germany was in the realm of philosophy, culture, literature and thought. Goethe, Schopenhauer, Max Mueller and others delved into the Indian spirit, and helped the West in the understanding and appreciation of India. The study of Sanskrit, in particular, by German scholars, helped open the eyes of the world to our rich and ancient civilization. One of our eminent Sanskrit scholars, the late Dr V. Raghavan amplified it by saying that “To give an account of the German contribution to Sanskrit would be to write the history of Sanskrit studies in modern times”. Even today there are several centres in Germany where Sanskrit is studied and researched on.

In the same way, India has always deeply admired German contributions to philosophy, science, literature and art. We must never forget the strong basis that this tradition of mutual interest, empathy and cultural goodwill provides for a dynamic relationship in a changing world. We remember with a sense of satisfaction that India was one of the first countries in the world to announce termination of the state of war in the Germany of the late 1940s. We also recall today that India was among the first in the world to set up diplomatic relations with your country. A complementarity has thus, marked our relations over the ages.

This mutuality continues to be reflected in the interest of the German people in our art and architecture, music and literature, medicine and engineering. This is one reason why we are particularly happy that the Festival of India, which would be inaugurated in September this year, will be the first major cultural manifestation by any foreign country in united Germany. It is also the reason why the Government of India has decided to set up a Cultural Centre in Berlin which will serve as a vehicle for cultural encounters between our two countries.

There are other pillars of strength in the edifice of our friendship. One is a commitment to the democratic way of life. That has been your national strength in the years of reconstruction leading to economic strength and prosperity after the Second World War, and that was the magic wand which healed the division of the Germanys and peacefully united them again. We salute once again the peaceful revolution which made this historic event possible, and reiterate our total confidence in the positive contributions which

united Germany will make towards global peace and stability and to the well-being of people on our planet.

Passion for democracy is also our most cherished asset in India. No matter how great our challenges, how seemingly insoluble our problems, it is a fact that public debate in this country is free, that the power of the vote potent, political activity vigorous and transparent, and commitments to basic values of democracy, social justice and secularism, well entrenched. There is thus an 'eternal' India that enables us to overcome the daunting problems of the day with optimism and confidence in the future.

Our complementary needs and capabilities provide another major positive dimension. Encouraging trends in our trade and economic co-operation, in German investments in India, the increase in Indian exports to Germany with the consequential reduction in our trade deficit, exchanges in science and technology—these are welcome indicators of a healthy, mutually beneficial relationship. But it is obvious that we will have to work with much greater energy and purpose if these relations are to measure up to their true potential.

The past few years had seen a series of high-level political exchanges between India and Germany combined with an ever increasing collaboration in trade and industry in either country by the other and significant contacts between academics, scientists, Parliamentarians and media-persons. It is important that whether because of regional preoccupations or other hesitations, the momentum of contacts which has been established in all these fields is not allowed to slacken. It is for this reason that the idea of a Consultative Group on Indo-German relations, which could maintain a sharp and continuing focus on the possibilities, compulsions and needs of a long-term perspective of bilateral relations, has been suggested. We hope that it will be endorsed in both countries and implemented without much delay.

Mr President, we in India have a natural abhorrence of war. Our philosophy, history, tradition and our own freedom struggle under the leadership of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, have inculcated in us qualities of patience, tolerance, and adherence to non-violence for the solution of all problems. We are doing our best to practise these principles in our relations with other countries. If war has cast its shadow in the past, it was not for want of effort on our part to prevent it. We remain determined to create a climate of mutual trust, co-operation and peace with all our neighbours, and will strive ceaselessly to achieve the goal of a subcontinent where both conflict as well as poverty have been banished. At the global level, India's long record of constructive contribution to the cause of world peace, disarmament and development speaks for itself.

We are excited, Mr President, by Germany's vision of a new, integrating Europe, outward-looking, actively promoting the cause of world peace, projecting with emphasis the urgent need for an equitable partnership between North and South. This is also the dream of India and we look forward to an active partnership with the emerging Europe based on common interests.

The Gulf conflict has shown that there is no room for complacency even after the easing of the cold war and reduction of tension in international relations. A measure of commonality has characterized Germany's approach and that of India to the Gulf war. Both our countries believe that Iraq's occupation of Kuwait has been responsible for a tragic and avoidable war whose consequences will have to be addressed for many years to come. Both of us have abided by the UN Security Council resolutions and have insisted that their implementation by Iraq is essential. Now that Iraq has withdrawn from Kuwait and the sovereignty of Kuwait has been restored to its legitimate authority, we must all work to heal the wounds of war in a manner in which nobody feels humiliated, nobody emerges as a victor or vanquished, but it is the humanity which triumphs. It was Kant who said wisely: "No State at war with another State should engage in hostilities of such a kind as to render mutual confidence impossible when peace will have been made." India and Germany owe it to themselves to maintain close contacts on all aspects of this difficult situation in the months ahead so that the ends of peace and stability could be secured.

Centuries ago, Europe reached out to India because India's assets were not available elsewhere. The Europe of tomorrow will again discover India as a unique partner, complementing its own capacities, sharing a common vision of a peaceful and just world order, and as a responsible member of the world community in tackling the new issues of the international agenda—environment, drugs, terrorism, fundamentalism, weapons of mass destruction. And Indo-German friendship will undoubtedly be at the heart of that rediscovery of India by Europe.

An Ever-expanding Co-operation

I WELCOME YOU as the representative of a great country with which India has long enjoyed friendly ties. India and France share the same political, social and moral values. The contacts between the peoples of our two countries date back to several centuries, and our common approach to human problems highlights our basic values. The commitment of our two nations to democracy and human rights has only strengthened with the passing years and has helped us in viewing the problems the world over in similar ways.

Into-French relations have developed and diversified ever since India achieved Independence in 1947. We have received the co-operation and assistance of the French Government both in the political and economic

spheres. I should like to place on record our appreciation for this assistance.

Indo-French co-operation in such various fields as political, trade and economic, cultural, commercial, defence, space, telecommunication and others continues to expand. I hope that during your tenure in India, this process will be further developed. Clearly, there is a great deal to be done in order to upgrade the co-operation so that it fulfils its real potential.

France has been a close and consistent friend of India and we look forward to continuing this relationship, especially in view of the integrating European market after 1992. We hope that France will support us in having greater access to the Common Market, and, generally, in strengthening our relations with the European Community. In a wider context, France and India owe it to each other to intensify mutual consultative mechanisms so that they can work together in the cause of peace, stability and development in the changing international environment.

The Gulf crisis has resulted in severe losses to the Indian economy, both by way of expatriate earnings from abroad and project exports to countries of the region. I am confident that France will respond with sympathy to our efforts to tackle these unexpected difficulties and will also lend its voice in the international fora for economic and other co-operation that may be required by us to overcome this crisis.

Excellency, during your tenure here, you will have many occasions to visit different regions of our country and witness for yourself our achievements as well as our plans for the future. A country of India's size and diversity cannot but have major challenges to overcome in its efforts to alleviate poverty and social disparities. We have come a long way since Independence towards achieving these objectives. It is a matter of pride for us that the commitment to democracy and secularism is so deeply entrenched in our society that we can face the future with confidence and optimism. You can be assured of the co-operation of the Government of India in your endeavours to forge closer ties between our two countries.

May I take this opportunity to convey my personal regards and best wishes to His Excellency the President of France, and my best wishes to the Government and people of France. I wish you a very pleasant and fulfilling stay in India.

India and Sri Lanka

WE WELCOME YOU among us as the representative of a country which has a centuries-old relationship with India, and with whom we share a commonality of perceptions, attitudes and objectives. This relationship has reflected itself, particularly since the independence of our two countries, in close co-operation in the UN, Non-aligned Movement, Commonwealth and SAARC. I have no doubt that this would continue and be further strengthened in the coming years.

The international environment has seen momentous changes in the last year which have brought into stark focus the values and ideals we have cherished through the ages, and which have guided the political, economic and social development in our countries.

Notwithstanding these developments we believe that the need to harness the diversity of our cultures, religions and beliefs for promoting the uplift and well-being of our peoples remains paramount. Democracy has taken deep roots in our societies and has proved the best means to ensure that the aspirations of our people are met through consultation and consensus. Similarly, in the area of foreign policy, the principles of *Panchsheel* remain as valid today as they were when first propounded.

We are committed to developing our bilateral relations with your country in the widest sense for the mutual benefit of our peoples who have a shared history and are linked by more than mere geography. I have no doubt that with will on both sides, we will succeed in strengthening and diversifying our relations in a variety of fields of concern to us. In particular, we feel that our joint efforts have to be directed towards combating the economic hardships placed on us by recent changes in the world economic outlook. In this context, we hope that the forthcoming SAARC Summit in Colombo would give a meaningful direction. Similarly, the recent decision by our countries to rejuvenate, and upgrade bilateral relations through the setting up of the Indo-Sri Lanka Joint Commission is a welcome step. It now devolves on us to ensure that this forum becomes an important instrument to achieve our objectives.

We have been distressed at the continuing and tragic spiral of violence in North-East Sri Lanka which has displaced a large number of people some of whom are in India. We hope that efforts will continue to be directed towards finding a negotiated political settlement to bring about a peaceful and lasting solution to this long standing problem.

I assure you of the goodwill, support and good wishes of the Government and the people of India in your national endeavours.

I welcome you to India and wish you success in your assignment. Your high reputation precedes you, and is a good augury for the development of our bilateral relations.

I convey, through you, my personal greetings and good wishes to His Excellency President R. Premadasa, and to the people of Sri Lanka.

Indo-Hungarian Co-operation

IT IS A matter of immense pleasure for me personally, and for the Government and the people of India, to extend a warm welcome to you, Mr President, Madame Goncz, and the distinguished members of your delegation to our country. We welcome you, Mr President, not only as the Head of State of a new democratic Hungary, but also as a leading intellectual and a man of letters, an architect of a new order in Europe committed to the values of liberalism, humanism and co-operation, an activist for the cause of freedom and dignity, and above all a true friend of India. We are indeed proud and happy to have such an honoured guest with us.

The excellence achieved by the Hungarian people in various fields, whether intellectual, artistic or scientific, is renowned. While civilization itself has been the greatest beneficiary, we in India are gratified that one of the areas of Hungarian endeavour has been Indological studies where names like Alexander Csoma de Korosi, Jozsef Schmidt, Charles Fabri and others have become legendary. India is deeply indebted to them. Their studies were the embodiment of a larger spiritual quest that has traditionally linked India and Hungary. India and Hungary are also linked by the creative artists such as Rabindranath Tagore who visited Hungary in 1926, that talented and legendary Indian Painter, Amrita Shergil, Sas Brunner, and Madame Elizabeth Brunner. Hungary's deep and abiding interest in India has been sustained, nurtured and developed over the years.

Mr President, major changes have taken place in the domestic situation in Hungary in recent months. It is clear that these changes go beyond a change of government or regime. They signify a fundamental transformation of your society, towards greater integration of your country with the world community. The radical changes of values and institutions involved in these events are truly path breaking and the people all over the world are following them with great interest. We pay tribute to the Hungarian people for their maturity and forbearance in coping with these far-reaching changes. Our people, Mr President, are with you in your historic endeavour to create a new

society and wish you every success. This has added a powerful new element that will raise the quality and level of our traditionally warm and friendly relations.

The economic transformation of Hungary also opens up new opportunities for building up and strengthening our bilateral ties. The privatization programme that you have embarked upon in your country will undoubtedly bring a greater dynamism to your economy and add to the prosperity of the people of Hungary.

Mr President, Hungary is already one of our important economic partners in the region. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that in our efforts to change the profile of our foreign trade, we find in Hungary a willing and active partner. Several pioneering ventures in the field of automobiles, other manufactured products and the hotel industry have been successfully started. We are confident that your businessmen and industrialists too will find in India opportunities for mutually beneficial ventures.

We have fruitful co-operation in the field of culture, media, health and science and technology. Many of our bilateral agreements will not only be renewed during the visit but new areas of co-operation and interaction will be explored and identified.

Mr President, in this context the prospect of a new integrated Europe widening its area of partnership, holds great interest for us. The developing world needs understanding and support from the world's more fortunate sections. It is our confidence that this will be forthcoming. It is our earnest hope that the world community will accord high priority to the creation of a just and equitable world order. But more than anything else, the developing nations of the world need an environment of global peace.

In the years immediately after our Independence, our commitment to peace found expression in the philosophy of *Panchsheel* and the Bandung principles. These later emerged as the policy of non-alignment.

We have quite naturally welcomed the decline in global tensions caused by the East-West divide. We are happy that the idea of bloc politics and the era of the cold war have yielded place to a new spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation. India sincerely hopes that there will be no re-emergence of the bloc approach in the aftermath of the tragic war in the Gulf. The United Nations Organisation has played a useful role in creating an awareness of the need for a new and just international order. It needs to be further strengthened so that the integrity and sovereignty of all nations, may be protected and preserved.

Disarmament and development continue to receive India's priority as the twin instruments for world peace and prosperity. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that India and Hungary have shared identical or similar approaches to the major issues of our time.

In our own region, Mr President, it has been our endeavour to strive for a climate of mutual trust, co-operation and peace with all our neighbours. India has always looked upon countries in the region, large or small, as deserving of equal respect. The South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation

(SAARC) serves as an effective forum for the realization of our regional aspirations.

Before I conclude, I would like to reiterate once again that your visit, Mr President, will be a landmark event in our relations that will further cement our multifaceted ties. We applaud your personal contribution in reinvigorating our relations, and renewing the traditional interest in Hungary towards Indian culture through your translations of contemporary literature on India and by Indian authors. I am confident that through this encounter you will discover the dynamic, progressive and composite face of India which is, at once an ancient civilization and a modern nation.

New Dimensions in Indo-Vietnamese Endeavours

MEMBERS OF MY delegation and I deem it a great privilege to be in this ancient land with which India has a very close and warm relationship. Our friendship goes back several centuries, and the great Cham Monuments here bear witness to our ancient relationship.

Vietnam is not just a great nation; it is a timeless symbol and synonym of sacrifice, determination and human dignity. Your heroic struggle for freedom against entrenched forces constitutes a legend for all time, while your leader, Ho Chi Minh, has gone into the annals of world history as a figure of epic proportions. And so to be in Vietnam is, for us, to walk on hallowed ground. I would like to express my sincerest thanks for the exceptionally warm welcome extended to me, my wife and to the members of my delegation.

I have long cherished a desire to visit this great land of heroic people who by their sacrifices and determination have given pride to every Asian. I feel doubly happy that this visit takes place at so auspicious a time as the celebration of the birth centenary of the immortal Ho Chi Minh. May I take this opportunity to extend to the people and the leadership of Vietnam the cordial greetings of the people and the Government of India on this happy anniversary. It is our confidence that the life's-work of Ho Chi Minh will shine as a beacon light of self-confidence and pride, for the deprived and struggling peoples of the world. Vietnam and India have been indeed fortunate, in having two of the noblest and most far-sighted leaders of this era: Ho Chi Minh and Mahatma Gandhi whom we regard as Fathers of our respective Nations. Both these leaders have left behind an indelible mark not only in their own nations but in the history of modern civilization.

Our two nations have shared the sufferings of colonialism. It was after a

long and difficult struggle that our peoples won their freedom. As a nation that attained independence earlier, India watched your struggle for freedom with active concern, remaining a staunch friend of Vietnam during this difficult period in her history. India rejoiced in Vietnam's liberation and eventual reunification.

Our first Prime Minister and the architect of modern India, Jawaharlal Nehru was among the first Heads of Government to visit Vietnam after your glorious victory at Dien Bien Phu. He came, in 1954, as a pilgrim to pay tribute to the Vietnam of Ho Chi Minh. The two great leaders had developed a close bond of friendship and deep regard for each other during the years of their separate, yet similar, struggles against foreign domination. The creative genius of these two leaders could not be confined within the walls that had incarcerated them. As Ho Chi Minh himself wrote in his prison diary:

“The body is in jail
But the spirit, never;
For the great cause to prevail
Let the spirit rise for ever!”

Around the same time, and in similar circumstances, in Ahmednagar Jail, Nehru was dwelling on the spirit of his country as he wrote his *Discovery of India*.

Ever since then, Indo-Vietnamese friendship has continued to further consolidate itself through the exchange of high level visits.

It is a matter of great happiness that all round progress marks our relations in diverse fields. The recent agreement in the field of science and technology will add to the benefits of co-operation in the fields of agriculture and animal husbandry, atomic energy, oil exploration and culture. Additional facilities have been provided for an increased number of Vietnamese scholars under Indian Technical & Economic Co-operation (ITEC) Programme. The signing of a Trade Protocol in September 1990 was a major landmark in our bilateral relations.

In order to sustain and further strengthen our close friendship, it is essential that we ensure full implementation of this Trade Protocol and develop commercial and economic relations to their full potential commensurate with our political ties.

Important changes have taken place in recent times in India's immediate neighbourhood. We welcome the formation of representative governments in Bangladesh and Nepal and hope to further develop friendly relations with these important neighbours of ours.

In respect of Sri Lanka, India has time and again stressed the need for a peaceful political settlement which meets the legitimate aspirations of all sections of the Sri Lankan population within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity and integrity.

Unfortunately, peace has not yet been restored in Afghanistan. We are convinced that conditions should be created to enable the Afghan people

themselves to find a political solution which would ensure Afghanistan's status as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned country.

We have continued our efforts to improve our ties with Pakistan in spite of their interference in our internal affairs by extending support to terrorists and to secessionist activities in the Indian States of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. We sincerely hope that the Government of Pakistan would realize the necessity to abide by the Simla Agreement .

The recent exchange of visits between India and China have helped better understanding between these two large Asian nations. Our bilateral co-operation has grown and the climate appears to be conducive to steady improvement in our relations.

The world witnessed some momentous changes in the recent past. The era of confrontation between superpowers has yielded place to co-operation and the cold war has been replaced by dialogue and discussions. These had given new hope of peace and prosperity for the world. It is unfortunate that these hopes have received a setback with the outbreak of hostilities in the Gulf. This is not the time for recrimination or retribution but for reconciliation and constructive co-operation. Peace and stability in the Gulf region can be ensured only through the return of unity and amity. India believes that there can be no lasting peace in West Asia, till the Palestinian people's aspirations for 'homeland' are realized and their freedom ensured.

Further afield, encouraging changes are taking place in Southern Africa. While we welcome these changes, we also recognize that a great deal remains to be done. Unfortunately, while apartheid is nearing its end in South Africa, it is raising its ugly head nearer our homes. For instance, racialism in Fiji has to be fought nationally and internationally with the same vigour. The struggles for upholding human dignity have to be carried on relentlessly if we wish to leave a better world for posterity.

We have witnessed steady progress in the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the tragic conflict in Cambodia. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia in September 1989 was a significant and positive step in this direction.

We have welcomed the efforts of the Permanent Five. Under the auspices of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia, India will try to achieve a peaceful settlement which will ensure the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and non-aligned status of Cambodia. The people of Cambodia must be allowed to decide their own future unfettered by threats, coercion or fear. We also hope that once peace is restored, the Cambodian people would receive generous support for the reconstruction of their beautiful land.

The biggest problem facing the world today is the problem of poverty and hunger. We think that there can be no durable peace, if the world continues to be divided between haves and have nots. North-South dialogue and multilateral economic co-operation unfortunately remain blocked because of hesitation on the part of some of the major industrialized countries. We hope that the trading blocs and economic groupings will not turn into rich men's

clubs and perpetuate the existing economic order creating new tensions and inequalities. We believe that the only reliable way to counteract such tendencies is through a further expansion of South-South co-operation.

Ho Chi Minh said: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." These words have eternal relevance. India and Vietnam were partners in their struggle for political independence. I am confident that, in the future, we will have an even closer partnership in our endeavours for economic and social reconstruction so that our people may enter a millennium of peace and prosperity.

Expanding South-South Co-operation

FROM THE VERY moment of our arrival in this magnificent city of Manila, we have been touched by the warmth and graciousness of the welcome accorded to us and the thoughtful care and consideration which has gone into the making of our itinerary. This delightful banquet bears testimony to Filipino hospitality which is legendary, both for scale and distinctiveness. Permit me, therefore, Madame President, to express on behalf of my wife, myself and the members of my delegation, our most sincere thanks for the courtesies extended to us and the cordiality with which we have been received.

The Philippines conjures up images of picturesque beauty, grace and charm. Your national hero, Dr Jose Rizal referred to the Philippines, most appositely, as the 'Pearl of the Orient Sea'. The location of the Philippines in the lap of the seas has posed both challenges and opportunities. Volcanoes rumble and erupt, tornadoes cut a swathe of angry destruction over your islands. And yet, the industrious people of the Philippines, have gone ahead to make the best use of their natural endowments, and through their determination, have carved a distinctive niche for themselves in the comity of Asian nations.

Your Excellency has spoken many kind words about India and Indo-Philippine relations. India and the Philippines have indeed much in common and our ties go back to antiquity. India's multilingual and multireligious character is similar to that of the Philippines'. We are both parts of the great Asian continent which has been the fount of human civilization. Both our countries were unfortunate enough to be caught by the dragnets of imperialism and colonialism. And yet, despite the fact that the colonisers were strong and mighty, our peoples struggled hard to achieve their rightful freedom. We in India watched with keen interest the struggle of our Filipino friends for freedom, democracy and socio-economic development. The

struggle of the Filipino people for independence was seen by us as an inspiring saga of courage and sacrifice, with Dr Jose Rizal and Emilio Aquinaldo being hailed as Asian statesmen of exceptional stature. Your country won its freedom in 1946 and ours in 1947. Both our nations have thereafter been engaged in the stupendous task of building up a strong viable and self-reliant economy.

The fact that we are in the same region of the world—Asia—has bound us together even more closely. As the architect of independent India's foreign policy, our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru said: "We are of Asia and the people of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others."

It was, therefore, natural for independent India to take a number of steps beginning with the Asian Relations Conference of 1947 to seek to strengthen and expand our ties with all Asian countries. My official visit at Your Excellency's gracious invitation is a continuation of this process. It has also given me an opportunity to renew the personal contacts established between us in Tokyo in February 1989.

Our common commitment to freedom and democracy and the deep and abiding spirituality of our peoples have further cemented this friendship and understanding. There is immense scope for meaningful co-operation between our two countries, especially in the economic and commercial spheres.

Since Independence, India, like the Philippines, has been engaged in the gigantic task of national reconstruction, overcoming the legacy of colonial exploitation. The task of developing India into a modern, pluralistic and self-reliant nation, while preserving its age-old traditions, has been a challenging one. The people of India are proud to have developed a vibrant and successful democratic structure. We have built a thriving, diverse and steadily expanding economic and industrial infrastructure, which is intrinsically self-reliant and indigenous in character, yet is fruitfully interactive with world economies. Our economic growth has gone hand in hand with massive educational, health, family planning, rural reconstruction programmes designed particularly to bring home the benefits of development to the most needy. While much has been achieved, we do recognize that we still have a great distance to traverse.

Your Excellency's crusade for restoration of democracy in the Philippines, through non-violent people's power, has been a source of inspiration not only to your own countrymen but the world at large. Indeed, the world-wide surge of democracy in the past years owes not a little to the path shown by your Excellency at the EDSA Revolution.

We regard your EDSA Revolution based on non-violence and persuasion as an echo of our age-old tradition of ahimsa or non-violence, a reflection of truth and righteousness embodies in the teachings of the Buddha, and an adaption of our non-violent struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi—the Father of our Nation.

The relevance of what Gandhiji preached and practised and what the EDSA Revolution highlighted once again, namely, the linkage between ends and means and the necessity to eschew violence and hatred is all the more

valid today. For what we see before us is a fractious human fraternity, succumbing more and more to a climate of terror and a cult of might.

Madame President, the international scene also does not present a happy picture. People at large, had hoped that the end of cold war would yield a peace dividend, which would substantially reduce poverty and exploitation of underprivileged sections of mankind but these hopes have so far largely remained unrealized. The recent Gulf crisis created by a blatant disregard for well established norms of international behaviour and conduct, the continuing strife in Afghanistan and in Cambodia, and the unresolved Palestine question remain potential flash-points for wider conflagration. The old idea of aggression and conquest, seemingly continue to guide many a nation. The destructive power unleashed by the rapid advances in science and technology clearly warns nations against indulgence in any misadventure involving aggression and violence.

India has followed a policy of peace and co-operation with all nations. Guided by *panchsheel* or the five principles of peaceful co-existence, we have sought to promote a climate of peace and co-operation world-wide, and more specifically in our own neighbourhood. India has also noted with interest the progress made by the countries of South-East Asia, including the Philippines, to steadily intensify and expand their efforts to promote regionwide peace, friendship and co-operation through the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Given the many commonalities that so happily link our two peoples together and given the shared commitment to democratic ideals, nothing would give us greater happiness in India than to further intensify the exchanges between our two countries. This would help transform Indo-Philippine relations into an exemplary model of South-South co-operation. I am confident that such intensified co-operation between our two countries will be mutually beneficial to our peoples. It would prove to be a major support in our respective endeavours to march into the 21st century as progressive and prosperous nations.

Developing Countries in the Changing World

I AM INDEED happy to have the opportunity to address this distinguished gathering at the University of Philippines. The achievements of this renowned centre of learning and its contributions to knowledge are well recognized.

I feel particularly honoured to be in this distinguished academic campus which has around 1,000 students from Asia and Africa, and which has played a major role in shaping your People's Power movement and thereby, influenced contemporary thought internationally.

I would like to express my deep appreciation to the University of Philippines for conferring on me the degree of Doctor of Laws *honoris causa*. I regard this as a manifestation of the interest of your academia in my ancient country and its contemporary endeavours, as much as an honour conferred on me personally.

India became free on August 15, 1947. Her struggle for freedom was itself unique and was different from the armed rebellions known to history. One of the unique but unrecognized features of this century is the voluntary transfer of power to the colonies by their erstwhile masters in the aftermath of the Second World War. Though some countries had to resort to armed action for achieving freedom many countries of Africa and Asia reached their goal through the non-violent process. Mahatma Gandhi, who led the struggle for our freedom for three decades was responsible for ensuring that the movement remained peaceful, non-violent and free of bitterness. Many of his own followers were sceptical of the method suggested but with Gandhi, non-violence was a creed, not a strategy.

The 'Revolution of 1986', in bringing together all sections of the Philippine society in a peaceful and spontaneous defiance of suppression and terror, reminded us of our own non-violent freedom struggle. It has done more: it has become the harbinger of similar changes in other parts of the world.

His Excellency Mr Raul Manglapus, who is a scholar first and a Foreign Minister next, has painstakingly researched and documented the deep-seated democratic traditions in the societies of India and the Philippines. Together, we have cause to rejoice at the recent resurgence of democratic values all over the world which is enabling the people to gain mastery over their own destiny.

Independent India wanted to build a modern, strong, dynamic and self-reliant nation which could stand abreast with the developed world. Thanks to the vision of our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, the country embarked on the path of planned economic development in the early fifties. Sceptics thought that planning necessarily implied an authoritarian regime but India proved that democratic planning was not only desirable but feasible as well.

Our most important achievement, perhaps, is the transformation we have brought about in Indian agriculture. From a country importing foodgrains in the fifties and sixties, we have reached a position of self-sufficiency and maintain a sizeable buffer stock.

India has also made significant strides in the industrial sector. Today we rank among the first fifteen of the industrialized countries. From a position of an economy importing almost every consumer item from safety-pins to fountain pens in 1947, we have reached a stage of self-reliance in items like heavy machine tools and equipment, generation of energy, both atomic and conventional and a host of consumer durables.

India has made great strides in fields like computers, nuclear power plants, oceanography, space research and genetic engineering and biotechnology. We put our first satellite in space in 1975 and have become the seventh country to place in orbit a communication satellite with its own solid fuel propelled launch vehicle. India is the fifth nation to have a remote-sensing satellite of its own.

We are also one of a handful of countries which can maintain the full nuclear fuel cycle—from the refining of the ore to the reprocessing of the waste.

Above all, life expectancy which was barely 32 years at the time of our Independence has gone up to 60 at present. But all these achievements are diluted, if not wiped out, by our large and increasing population. A respectable GNP divided among 840 million people yields a poor per capita income. Our efforts at family planning have touched the urban population but are still to make a dent in the rural areas. Since the rate of growth among the weaker sections of the society is larger than in the middle and upper classes, the problem of poverty gets accentuated.

We are living in a period of momentous changes which have far-reaching implications for nation States as well as international relations. The assertion of the democratic rights of the people in country after country, is one of the welcome changes taking place in our times. The cold war is over. The East-West divide is a thing of the past. The end of ideological confrontation between the two superpowers has facilitated the resolution of some of the long standing regional conflicts in the Third World. Namibia is now a free country and winds of change are sweeping even South Africa.

The collapse of the Berlin wall hastened the process of reunification of Germany at an exceptionally fast pace. Consequently, the movement towards European integration has gathered momentum. The concept of a 'common European home' no longer seems to be a utopian dream. Dramatic developments have taken place in Eastern Europe. Authoritarian structures based on one party rule have been replaced by democratic systems based on freedom of choice. In economic restructuring, the emphasis now is on the magic of the market place rather than on centralized control. In the Soviet Union itself, perestroika and glasnost have brought about profound changes in the political and economic landscape. The command economy is now in retreat all over Eastern Europe. The world has also continued to change in a deeper structural sense. Rapid developments in science and technology have led to an increasing globalization of production and consumption and have transformed the traditional notions of international division of labour and competitiveness. The revolution in telecommunication technologies has led to an unprecedented integration of the international markets for money, capital and goods and services. Centres of economic power have become more dispersed. The dominance of world economy by the United States in the immediate post-War period, has yielded place to a multipolarity of world economic power structure. Developing countries have themselves become significant participants in the global flows of trade, technology and finance.

There is a strong feeling in the West that history has vindicated the superiority of its political and economic system. Economic restructuring is, however, proving to be far more painful and prolonged than was originally estimated.

It is important to remember that the ubiquitous presence of poverty and deprivation in large parts of the Third World still remains a reality and that the widening disparity between the North and the South has not eased with the obliteration of the East-West divide. As a matter of fact, recent changes, if not harnessed in the right direction, have the potentiality of aggravating the problems of the South.

The preoccupation of the richer countries of the world with the designing of regional security systems in Europe and West Asia, can very well turn out to be at the cost of a truly democratic, wider multilateral system without which there can be no lasting peace and security. The urges which gave rise to the democratic movement all over the world and led to the end of the cold war, must be taken to their logical conclusion, that is, the establishment of a just and equitable world order.

The increased interaction in the global economy, we find, continues to take place on an unequal basis. The very process of change—through science and technology and through growing specialization—which has brought the world closer together, also threatens to deepen the divide.

There is manifest reluctance to accept the proposition that developing countries need large positive resource transfers to accelerate the tempo of their development. The present situation in which developing countries as a group have become net exporters of capital, does not seem to worry policy makers in the developed countries. As resource flows have decreased, conditionalities attached to these flows have greatly increased. Developments in Eastern Europe can become an excuse to divert whatever little attention there was, from the North-South issues.

A reform of the international system, particularly of international arrangements governing the flows of trade, money and finance is an urgent necessity.

Developing countries have a vital stake in an orderly functioning of multilateral trading system and in the successful outcome of the Uruguay Round. But, the Round can be regarded a success only if it achieves balanced results, paying particular attention to the development dimension and the overall interest of developing countries.

In the area of finance, the immediate need is to reverse the perverse phenomenon whereby developing countries have become net exporters of capital to developed countries. This will involve, among other things, development oriented approach to the solution of the international debt problem. In the medium term, the international system should seek to transfer to developing countries a substantial part of surplus savings of countries like Japan and Germany.

At present the only worthwhile international agenda which the developed countries are willing to talk about relates to the management of global

environment, control of illicit traffic in drugs and extension of GATT type disciplines to new areas such as services and intellectual property rights.

The challenge before developing countries is to accelerate the tempo of their own social and economic development, notwithstanding the obvious reluctance of the developed countries to assist in the Third World's struggle against poverty and underdevelopment.

Countries of East Asia, South-East Asia and to some extent of South Asia have shown that there are considerable opportunities for growth even in the framework of the present international economic system. However, if protectionist forces and advocates of managed trade gain in strength in developed countries, the development prospects of Asian countries which have relied heavily on exports to developed countries may well be seriously affected.

As regards Africa and Latin America, the combined impact of the debt crisis, low commodity prices and domestic mismanagement gave rise to a profound development crisis in the 1980s. This crisis is likely to persist in the 1990s unless these countries can devise more effective strategies on their own.

I am convinced that given sound domestic policies, developing countries can considerably improve upon their past economic performance. The first requirement is to create a macro economic environment conducive to the growth of savings and their deployment in productive investments. Fiscal, monetary and exchange rate management policies should be so designed as to control inflationary expectations as well as discourage flight of capital abroad.

With the likelihood of the Gulf countries, engaged in the task of the rehabilitation and reconstruction of their economies devastated by the recent war, and the East European countries entering the international capital market, the situation in this market is going to be very tight. Moreover, a large number of developing countries, particularly from Africa, cannot afford commercial borrowing at the terms and conditions at which they are available.

Developing countries just cannot afford to go through another decade of stagnation or arrest of growth. For many of them, the social and political fabric would just not be able to withstand it. The resulting turmoil and tension would inevitably spill over national boundaries and could endanger the very fabric of global peace and security. There is, therefore, a very urgent need to introduce determined measures to reverse the present trends and get the world economy moving once more on the path of rapid growth and expansion.

It goes without saying that accelerated development requires much greater mobilization of both financial and human resources. A substantial increase in the net transfer of concessional resources can play a very important role in revitalizing the development process in developing countries and freeing them from the overhang of a rising debt burden. Commercial flows and foreign direct investment are also very important but they cannot be an adequate substitute for concessional lending, particularly from multilateral institutions.

Countries like the Philippines and India are particularly fortunate in being endowed with highly diversified and skilled human resources. It is important for us to evolve development strategies and devise programmes and projects specifically designed to harness the skills and the creative urges of our people and fully to associate them with the process of development, both as an instrument and the beneficiary of this process.

Moreover, there should also be a fair measure of external liberalization in order to enable our economies to face competition from abroad and become competitive in the world market. But liberalization and free play of market forces cannot be a universal panacea for all economic ills. Liberalization must have a human face and a concern for the lowly, deprived and the underprivileged. And here, there is no substitute to the State playing a key role. Both India and the Philippines have long experience of managing mixed economies and are fully aware of the role which individual enterprise and initiative can play in transforming societies. Strategic interventions by the State are also necessary for ensuring that liberalization does not result in the proliferation of production structures designed to satisfy consumer demands which are based on the imitation of foreign consumption patterns and which generate payment imbalances.

Clearly, market processes cannot be relied upon for resource allocation in such crucial areas as research and development, education and health and control of environmental degradation. Developing countries suffer from acute shortage of capital. Whatever little surpluses they create go to improve their despicably low standard of life. Massive investments necessary for launching ventures to strengthen the infrastructure or basic industrial materials like metals, minerals, etc. are often beyond the capacity of the private sector. The State has, therefore, to step in with sizeable investments in these sectors in order to ensure balanced development.

In practice thus there is no alternative to a mixed economy in which both the public sector and the private sector operate side by side to achieve the national goals. Governments inescapably have to provide direction to the development process at strategic points. Complete *laissez-faire* exists nowhere except in some textbooks. In the same manner, experience has brought out the adverse effects of an overcentralized planning system in terms of efficiency and productivity of resource use. Nevertheless, there seems to be no alternative to public sector involvement in infrastructure development and provision of basic social services. Thus careful planning of public sector investment is a pragmatic necessity.

At the same time, effective measures have to be adopted to ensure that public sector enterprises are given sufficient functional autonomy so that they can operate on normal business principles and can be held accountable for their performance. If in some areas the public enterprises turn out to be patently unviable, there should be no hesitation to close them down. However, in such cases effective social safety nets ought to be devised which would ensure that the costs of structural change are not borne exclusively by the workers of loss making enterprises.

In this context, it is necessary to lay strong emphasis on tax reform. Financing of essential social services as well as of anti-poverty programmes cannot be undertaken on the basis of borrowing either at home or from abroad. We need expanding tax revenues to finance such activities.

The tax system has to be so designed that tax-national income ratio can go up without frequent upward revision of tax rates. At the same time, the structure of taxation should be such as to reward savings and risk bearing and also to minimize the incentives for tax evasion.

I have dealt with the managing of domestic policy framework as the basis for acceleration of growth processes in the developing countries. But greater co-operation among developing countries at bilateral, subregional, regional and inter-regional levels has to be used as a powerful instrument for widening the development options of the Third World. Expansion of trade and economic co-operation among developing countries themselves can play an important role in sustaining and further stimulating the growth process. Unfortunately, despite repeated attempts over the decades in all parts of the Third World, the potential of South-South co-operation remains to be realized.

Lack of information about the possibilities of fruitful co-operation through such mechanisms as joint ventures is a major barrier. Very often, there is a prejudice in importing goods from other developing countries even when they are cheaper and embody technologies more suited to the needs of a developing country. Such prejudices have to be overcome through regular exchange of information and personnel, and cross-fertilization of experiences.

There is also vast scope for co-operation in the fields of education and scientific and technological research. Many developing countries have developed excellent academic centres where students from other developing countries can be trained at a fraction of the cost incurred on training in developed countries. Moreover, students sent to other developing countries for training are more likely to return home than students trained in developed countries. Thus co-operation in education can help to stem brain drain from the developing countries.

In the specific context of Asia, co-operation mechanisms such as ASEAN and SAARC need to be strengthened. Additionally, economic co-operation between countries of East Asia and other regions of Asia should be expanded. The surplus capital and technical skills of East Asian developing countries offer considerable scope for joint ventures in South-East and South Asia. The Asian Development Bank as well as Japan could play an important role in promoting regional co-operation in Asia. Mutually profitable arrangements should be made to attract more and more of surplus Japanese capital for investment in Asian developing countries.

There is one more area which I do wish to emphasise. This involves a firm commitment to the use of peaceful methods to settle regional and subregional disputes. We have seen the tragic consequences of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict. Developing countries must pledge themselves to resolve all conflicts without

recourse to the use of force and without the involvement of outside powers in these disputes. They should avoid taking part in the race for rearmament.

Another area that has assumed a high priority is the protection of the environment. Since environment is globally shared, its protection should be the concern of all countries, developed as well as developing. However, any international system devised to protect degradation of environment must explicitly recognize that the bulk of the damage to environment is due to wasteful patterns of production and consumption in the developed countries. Acceptance of the principle that the polluter must pay, would imply that the bulk of the cost of environment protection ought to be paid for by the developed countries. We do not wish to deal with the environment as yet another North-South issue. But any endeavour, in the name of environment protection, to freeze production and consumption patterns in developing countries should be resisted. Equally any attempt to prevent access of goods into developed countries' markets on the plea that the developing countries had not observed costly environmental standards would spell disaster to developing countries. Nor should observance of environmental policies become a conditionality of aid or development financing or a pretext for erecting trade barriers. It must be the endeavour of developed countries to assist developing countries to maintain standards of environment through financial and technical assistance rather than by resort to penal and prohibitory policies.

A new world order has been one of the eternal quests of mankind. In recent times, the developing countries presented a cogent and compelling case for a new international economic order in the 1960s and the 1970s. This, unfortunately, provoked opposition and apathy. But now when the world is in the throes of greater flux than ever before, we hear once again the talk of a New World Order. Let us steadily move towards this New World Order, evolved out of a consensus based on international legality and democracy.

Developing countries cannot give up their struggle for a just and equitable management of the growing global interdependence. A South united in support of a fair and balanced action programme can still exercise considerable leverage.

Three-fourths of humanity lives in the developing World and international arrangements which show no concern for their aspirations and interests cannot promote either peace or prosperity in the world. The current unfavourable climate for a meaningful North-South dialogue should not lead us to despair or despondency. World public opinion is now a force to reckon with. If developing countries make honest efforts to restructure their domestic economies to promote growth and equity, relaying on self-help and self-reliance to the maximum extent possible, they will acquire greater bargaining power as well as a strong moral case to be seriously listened to in the major capitals of the world. Let us persist in that endeavour.

World history proves that progress and prosperity are not the monopoly of any part of the globe. The poorer countries of the early century have marched ahead thanks to discoveries of oil and gas. Severe handicaps in natural

resources have been overcome with the tools of science and technology. Man's mastery over Nature continues unabated and will continue still further. A brighter world is ahead of us and not behind us. The Third World has to participate in the process and not remain a passerby.

Let us forge the links that will help us mutually to share the progress that awaits humanity.

India and Kuwait

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as the first Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the State of Kuwait since its liberation. I thank you for conveying the good wishes of His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of the State of Kuwait, which I most sincerely reciprocate. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey through you the greetings of the Government and the people of India to the Government and the people of the State of Kuwait. I thank you for your warm and friendly references to my country.

Mr Ambassador, Kuwait and India have a centuries-old relationship of friendship and co-operation embracing many an aspect of human activity. We believe in common values and principles and share a deep commitment to promoting world peace and understanding. Our perceptions on many international issues coincide and I have no doubt that the fruitful collaboration which we have established in this regard will be further expanded and strengthened in the years to come.

We in India were profoundly distressed when Kuwait was illegally invaded and annexed in August last year. We followed with admiration the resilience of the people of Kuwait who demonstrated fortitude in the face of adversity. We had expressed ourselves in unmistakable terms our principled opposition to the aggression which was in violation of all norms of international law. The liberation of Kuwait, a resounding vindication of the norms and principles of international law, has been a source of profound gratification for us in India.

Foreign occupation resulted in immense sufferings to the people of Kuwait which they bore with stoic fortitude. The same occupation caused unprecedented damage to Kuwait's infrastructure and environment. We in India wish you all success in the challenging task of reconstruction and we have no doubt that when that task is completed, Kuwait would be restored to its former glory in all respects.

I also thank you for the condolences offered by you on the tragic assassination of a respected leader of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

I request you once again to convey my warm greetings and good wishes to His Highness Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Amir of the State of Kuwait and His Highness Sheikh Saad Al-Abdulla Al-Salim Al-Sabah, Crown Prince and Prime Minister of the State of Kuwait. Mr Ambassador, I am confident that with your knowledge and experience, you would contribute effectively towards consolidation of our bilateral relations. I assure you that you will receive the fullest co-operation of my Government in this regard. I wish you a pleasant stay and all success in your endeavours during your tenure in India.

India and Swaziland

IT IS A great pleasure for me to welcome you to India as the first High Commissioner of the Kingdom of Swaziland. Relations between our two countries have been close and friendly. As member countries of the Non-aligned Movement and the Commonwealth both Swaziland and India have co-operated in efforts which seek to promote peace and harmony in the world.

As members of the Commonwealth and the Non-aligned Movement, we share common interests and aspirations and have always co-operated meaningfully in international fora. We hope increased co-operation between our countries will bring us closer to our common objective, of a world where the resources and energies at our command are utilized for the common benefit of mankind. Both the Non-aligned Movement and Commonwealth need to be reinvigorated to keep pace with the changes in international relations and remain relevant and useful to the world community.

I wish to convey through you, Excellency, my compliments to His Majesty King Mswati III for ushering in a period of rapid economic development of Swaziland since he assumed charge in April, 1986. He has added youthful dynamism and promoted regional co-operation.

The Government of India has taken note of the positive reforms initiated by the South African Government, especially the repeal of all apartheid legislation. However, we do not feel that progress towards a democratic, non-racial South Africa has yet become irreversible. We hope that the South African Government takes urgent steps to remove the remaining obstacles to negotiations and shows its sincerity in curbing the violence in black townships

so that negotiations with the black majority on the constitutional future of South Africa could commence at the earliest.

There is considerable scope for expansion of economic ties between India and Swaziland. I avail myself of this occasion to reaffirm my Government's readiness to share with Swaziland, the technological expertise and experience which we have gained through the process of our economic development.

I am pleased to accept your letter of credence as the High Commissioner of the Kingdom of Swaziland to India. I would request you to convey to the friendly people and the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland and personally to His Majesty King Mswati III, my warm greetings and best wishes. I wish to assure you that you will receive the fullest co-operation of my Government in all your endeavours to promote meaningful co-operation between our two countries and peoples.

India and China

WE WELCOME YOU to India as the distinguished representative of a country with which India has had contacts which stretch back over two thousand years. It is not just geographical circumstance that has brought our two countries together: our intellectual exchanges and trade links in history mutually enriched the cultures and civilizations of our two peoples. The famous Chinese epic narrative, *Travels to the West*, which immortalizes the visit of a famous son of China, Xuan Zang to India during the seventh century AD and is read with interest even today, indicates how the harshness of the deserts and the mountains of Asia could not prevent our two cultures from reaching out to each other. And, even before Xuan Zang came to India, the two Indian monks Gobharana and Kasyapa Matanga visited China in the Second century BC and were warmly welcomed by the Han Emperor who built the famous White Horse Monastery at Luoyang in their honour. Acknowledging our ancient ties of friendship, Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan who later became the President of India, said during a visit to China in 1944: "Our countries have been linked together from before the Christian Era in matters of learning and culture. All these centuries we have met as friends and comrades in the pursuit of learning and the cultivation of virtue and not as rivals and exploiters. Our civilizations which are of great antiquity and of unbroken continuity possess a common cultural and spiritual background."

During the early decades of this century, when both our countries were engaged in a historic struggle to free ourselves from the yoke of foreign

domination, our contacts and our dialogue continued. The poet laureate of India, Rabindranath Tagore, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru both visited China. The legendary Dr Kotnis went to China with an Indian Medical Mission in order to provide medical relief to the brave Chinese people during their epic war of liberation. In a sense, these distinguished Indians were our ambassadors to China, carrying with them the message of our friendship for China and our common concern for the peace, freedom and well-being of all Asia.

In the early years after our Independence and China's liberation, the coming together of India and China in the early nineteen fifties was a development of historical importance. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Premier Zhou Enlai together enunciated the philosophy of *Panchsheel*, the five principles of peaceful coexistence, principles which even today are acknowledged universally as the basis for a new world order.

In the past few years, especially since the visit to China by the late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, we have been engaged in a process of improvement of our relations in diverse fields. The Government and the people of India have a forward-looking approach in this regard and sincerely wish to improve the relationship between India and China to a level that is commensurate with the size of our countries, our populations, and the contributions that we can make to the building of a world order which is founded on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Our policy towards China is based on continuity and consensus. Our commercial and economic relations must be strengthened and diversified. Our contacts in science and technology must be widened. There is need for us to concretize our co-operation and exchanges in such fields as civil aviation, agriculture, petro-chemicals and even in the peaceful uses of space. Both India and China need to share their vast fund of experience in these areas for mutual benefit. The need for this is especially great since the world around is changing radically and since co-operation between our two countries can make a decisive contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability in our region, in Asia and the world.

As the two most populous countries in the world, and fellow Asian countries, we share a common responsibility for promoting peace in the world. As leading developing countries we have similar views on such global issues as the environment, the new international economic order and the need to ensure a just and equitable international political order. We must work together to project our views in the world of today.

We look forward to the visit of the Premier of China to India. The Government and the people of India warmly welcome the prospect of his visit and believe that it will be an important landmark in our relations. We desire the resolution of all outstanding issues in our relationship, including the boundary question, in a fair and reasonable manner that is in conformity with national interests and sentiments.

We wish you every success in your assignment as your country's Ambassador to India. May the friendly relations between India and China grow

steadily and be further strengthened during your tenure. In your task you will receive the sincere co-operation and support of the Government and the people of India.

A Herald of Resurgent Africa

IT IS INDEED a pleasure and privilege for me to present to His Excellency Mr Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, the Jawaharlal Nehru Award 1989 for International Understanding.

These awards have been instituted in memory of Jawaharlal Nehru, an intellectual stalwart, distinguished Prime Minister and above all, a great humanist whose vision transcended the boundaries of India and whose concern stretched to the weak and oppressed in every part of the globe. He was a relentless crusader against weapons of mass destruction, nuclear and otherwise and a protagonist of peace and amity among nations and peoples. Colonial domination and exploitation were anathema to him and he fought against them wherever practised. His greatest contribution to humanity lay in his unremitting efforts to free the world of the curse of colonialism and apartheid.

When immediately after the Second World War, the world split into two ideological camps each one trying to extend its hegemony over the small and newly independent States, Nehru spearheaded the Non-aligned Movement providing the small nations a chance of remaining outside the power blocs and maintaining their political independence and economic sovereignty. Until then the world had only two concepts of belligerents and neutrals. A new idiom was introduced in the political philosophy under which nations did not commit themselves in advance to follow any superpower or group but reserved to themselves the right to judge each international issue on its merits and follow the path without fear. As we look back over the last four decades, we realize what a great success the Non-aligned Movement has been and what a rich potential it has for the future of the developing countries.

Jawaharlal Nehru declared in 1946: "The kernel of our policy is the ending of colonialism all over Asia or for that matter in Africa and elsewhere; and racial equality and the end of domination or exploitation of one nation by another."

It is particularly appropriate that we meet today, on the anniversary of Jawaharlal Nehru's birth, to see the Nehru Award conferred on one of the

foremost emancipators of Africa, President Robert Mugabe. President Mugabe combines in himself great intellectual eminence and an ability for decisive political action. We welcome President Mugabe not only as an outstanding son and leader of Zimbabwe, but as a standard, a herald and a tribune of resurgent Africa.

The destinies of Africa and India have been intertwined. The mighty instrument of satyagraha or civil resistance was forged by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for human rights and dignity on the continent of Africa and India has always regarded its struggle for freedom as part of a major movement for the liberation of all colonial people.

^ Mahatma Gandhi once said: "There is a real moral bond between Asiatics and Africans. It will grow as time passes."

Mr President, we in India have admired the quality of your leadership for its many attributes. But one among these has impressed us very specially. I refer to your conscious and successful endeavour to weave the different ethnic strands of your society into one tapestry. Different races and denominations have been sought to be assimilated by you in harmonious understanding. This is precisely what Gandhi and Nehru set as a major goal for our own pluralistic society. We, therefore, have a deep sense of satisfaction in seeing this Award go to you today.

Mr President, the tradition of friendship and co-operation between India and Zimbabwe is a concrete manifestation of this bond of Afro-Asian solidarity. Both our countries have a shared experience of colonialism, we are both pluralistic societies with democratic traditions and we are both developing economies which face similar problems. While India achieved its Independence in 1947, your country had to wait for a much longer period. We in India closely followed the valiant struggle for freedom waged by your people against the colonial regime, and also lent active support to the cause of Zimbabwe's independence at the UN and other international fora. Like the rest of the world, we regard your final victory in 1980 as a shining chapter in the history of decolonization.

On attaining independence, Zimbabwe faced problems similar to what we in India were confronted with in 1947. You proved more than equal to the task, Mr President and transformed your political struggle into a struggle for extending to your people the benefits of freedom and development and for restructuring the economy ravaged by colonialism. It is a tribute to your leadership qualities and your statesmanship, that through your bold economic policies you have been able to achieve success on both these fronts. As I myself saw during my State visit to your country in June 1989, there has been a marked improvement in the living standards of your people. In the short span since independence the Zimbabwean economy has achieved visible progress in the fields of agriculture and industry.

We are proud of our own association with the process of Zimbabwe's economic development. Over the last 10 years, India has been privileged to provide technicians and experts to Zimbabwe in the fields of telecommunica-

tions, power and railways. Trainees from Zimbabwe have regularly availed themselves of the facilities offered under the Indian Technical and Economic Co-operation Programme. We have also extended assistance to Zimbabwe through the mechanism of the AFRICA Fund.

Our bilateral relations have blossomed over the years aided by frequent exchanges of high level visits from both sides. Mr President, when you visited India as Prime Minister in 1981, agreements were concluded on trade, economic and technical co-operation. During your subsequent visit in January 1987 for the meeting of the AFRICA Fund it was decided to set up an India-Zimbabwe Joint Commission to give the necessary impetus to our bilateral co-operation. Cultural exchanges between India and Zimbabwe have also been taking place under the aegis of the Cultural Exchange Programme. A large number of students and scholars from Zimbabwe have availed themselves of the facilities under this programme.

Our two nations have a commonality of views on most issues of mutual concern and this has enabled us to co-operate closely at the UN, NAM, CHOGM and in multilateral economic fora. Zimbabwe under your able leadership, Mr President, has emerged as a major player on the international scene. In 1986, you assumed the Chairmanship of the Non-aligned Movement and last month we witnessed the successful conclusion of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meet in the beautiful city of Harare.

One issue of particular concern which binds both our nations together is that of apartheid. Ever since Mahatma Gandhi launched his struggle against racial discrimination in South Africa a century ago, India has been in the vanguard of the anti-apartheid struggle. You have also been an ardent champion of the rights of the oppressed majority in South Africa. Despite being a front-line State exposed to the destabilization tactics of the regime in Pretoria, Zimbabwe has consistently voiced its opposition to apartheid and advocated the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

I recall today the words you spoke here in New Delhi while delivering the Maulana Azad Memorial Lecture on 23 January 1987:

“In free Africa, wars between States and within countries have generally had a deleterious effect on the developmental process of the continent. Wars between States must be amicably settled through the offices of the OAU or some other mediatory third party. Civil wars should be settled through a process of national reconciliation. Wars launched by imperialism directly or through the proxy of armed bandits should be defeated by a process of national resistance with continental backing. Only then will Africa be able to channel her full potential of human and natural resources into the development of the continent.”

It is a matter of gratification for us that the racist Government has been compelled to adopt the path of reform and this has brought us much closer to the final goal of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

I have referred to your Chairmanship of the Non-aligned Movement. The

momentous changes in the global situation which have taken place in the recent past have led some to question the very relevance of the Movement. The end of the cold war, the crumbling of military blocs and the far reaching politico-economic changes in East Europe have clearly shown that the philosophy and aspirations of the Movement are still as relevant as before, although the agenda may have changed.

The focus will now increasingly be on issues of peace and disarmament, the restructuring of international economic relations, debt-relief for developing countries, democratization of multilateral institutions such as the UN and on global environmental protection. To achieve these objectives, we will have to work together to make the Movement stronger and more forceful. Our common endeavour to achieve this goal will determine whether international diplomacy is to be conducted on the whims of a powerful few or on the collective will of the majority of nations.

Given the statesmanship of the highest order that you have displayed in bringing about national reconciliation in Zimbabwe, of firmly resisting apartheid practised by your powerful neighbour and successfully guiding the Non-aligned Movement through an era of global change, it is most appropriate that the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding has been conferred upon Your Excellency. I congratulate you most warmly on this occasion and take this opportunity to wish you many more years of service to the people of Zimbabwe and indeed, to all the peoples of developing nations and for the creation of a new and just world order.

Supporting the African Cause

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to extend on behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf, our warm welcome to Your Excellency and your distinguished delegation. In welcoming you to India, Mr President, we welcome not only a leader of the people of Zimbabwe, but a statesman of international repute and a true friend of India. Our people have been looking forward to your visit and your presence here today is a further proof of the friendship and goodwill that exists between our two countries and peoples.

I recall, on this occasion, with great pleasure the pleasant memories of my State visit to Zimbabwe in June 1989, and the generous hospitality extended to me and to my delegation by the Government and the people of Zimbabwe

and, in particular, the care which you, Your Excellency, personally bestowed on the success of our itinerary.

The Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding was conferred on you earlier in the day. It is eminently fitting that you have been chosen for this honour since the cause to which you devoted the major part of your life—the independence of Zimbabwe—is a cause which was equally dear to us in India. Jawaharlal Nehru worked tirelessly for the eradication of the last vestiges of colonialism, particularly from Africa, and the Indian leaders who followed him were only carrying his legacy forward when we lent our whole-hearted support to the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe. This involved going to the extent of breaking diplomatic relations and enforcing sanctions against the white minority Government following the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. When your valiant struggle was finally crowned with success in 1980, the people of India were one with their African brothers in celebrating the dawn of freedom in Zimbabwe.

Mr President, although only 11 years have elapsed since your country attained independence, you have been able, through your pragmatic policies, to achieve a radical transformation of Zimbabwe in the social and economic fields. More importantly, economic growth, through the democratic process, has not been achieved at the expense of social justice. The same ideals of democracy and social justice have guided the process of India's own economic development. Although our fight against poverty and inequality is not yet over, India can be justifiably proud of its achievements in the fields of agriculture, industry, science and technology. We feel that the experience we have gained in the process of our economic development particularly in the fields of small and medium-scale industries, technical training and establishment of research and development centres is of much relevance to other developing countries like Zimbabwe. We are keen to share this experience with you. Already Indian experts have been working side by side with Zimbabwe technicians in fields ranging from telecommunications to thermal power generation and computer engineering to railway transportation. We have also had the pleasure of sharing our educational and training facilities with Zimbabwe nationals.

Along with the close understanding that exists between our leaders and our Governments, there is a fund of goodwill between our peoples. This provides an excellent foundation on which to further expand and strengthen mutually beneficial relations. The India-Zimbabwe Joint Commission provides an effective mechanism to review economic and cultural programmes from time to time. However, we need to make the Joint Commission more energetic in implementing the agreed decisions so that our economic ties can also reach the level of our political relationship.

Trade between our countries has also been increasing at a rapid pace but is still below its real potential. We need to create greater awareness in our respective countries of each other's capabilities and encourage our businessmen to establish mutually beneficial contacts and institutional links. This is important as both our Governments have embarked on a programme of

economic reform which will provide new opportunities to strengthen our economic co-operation. A beginning has been made with the establishment of an institutional link between the Indian Confederation of Engineering Industries and the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries as well as with the indigenous Business Development Centre. We hope that this lead will be taken up by other organizations as well.

A cultural delegation from Zimbabwe led by the Deputy Minister for Education and Culture has just renewed the three-year Cultural Exchange Agreement with India and we expect that it will strengthen people-to-people contacts between our two countries in the coming years.

The commonality of interest that characterizes our bilateral relations also unites us on international issues of mutual concern. Our two nations have co-operated closely in the UN and in the Non-aligned Movement which was chaired with great distinction by Your Excellency. More recently, Zimbabwe hosted a most successful Commonwealth Summit. We are also co-operating in the G-15 as well as in the Security Council. In the fast changing international environment, it is necessary for committed members of the Non-aligned Movement such as India and Zimbabwe to remain in close touch to co-ordinate efforts on issues of international concern.

Excellency, developments in Southern Africa remain very much in the centre of international attention. The achievement of independence by Namibia in March last year was a clear signal that force and violence cannot for ever subjugate the thirst for freedom and liberty. The same indomitable urge for freedom has resulted in the release of Nelson Mandela and other leaders in South Africa where the pressure of international sanctions and the determination of the anti-apartheid movement have compelled the South African Government to adopt the path of reform.

Mahatma Gandhi launched the crusade against racial discrimination in South Africa nearly a century ago and since then India has stood firmly with the oppressed people of South Africa in their noble struggle for freedom and dignity. At the same time India has welcomed the positive measures taken by President de Klerk over the last two years. We were heartened by the preliminary talks held between the African National Congress and the South African Government. The recent signing of the Peace Accord by all major parties and the convening of a Patriotic Front of anti-apartheid groups are further positive developments. We now hope for an early meeting of the All-Party Conference on the constitutional future of South Africa.

However, recent events have also shown that there can be no complacency about the irreversibility of the freedom process. The South African Government has to take firm steps to tackle the violence in the black townships and discipline the security agencies. It must cease trying to divide the black majority and give up its equivocation on the issue of an interim Government because there can be no compromise about the final goal in South Africa of a non-racial democracy based on universal suffrage. The views and advice of Zimbabwe, both as a leader of the front-line States and as a nation which has all along resisted the policies of the pretoria Government,

will be most valuable in enabling the global community to maintain pressure on the white minority Government to move towards a peaceful and negotiated transition to majority rule.

We welcome the end of the civil conflict in Angola and hope that a similar result obtains in Mozambique at the earliest. The Government of Zimbabwe is to be commended for the selfless assistance it has rendered to Mozambique in containing the forces of violent destabilization.

Mr President, your country and your neighbours have recognized the need for regional economic co-operation and provide an example in the form of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and the Preferential Trade Area. In our own region, India as a founder member of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation has actively participated in promoting regional co-operation in areas of common interest among South Asian member States. We view the SAARC mechanism as an effective vehicle for collective self-reliance in the region to harness complementarities of resources for promotion of regional prosperity.

The Government of India is continuing its endeavours to normalize relations with Pakistan. We are also sincerely committed to seeking further improvements in India-China relations and to the strengthening of mutual understanding, dialogue and co-operation with China in various fields.

The end of the cold war and the emergence of a new collaborative relationship between the superpowers has created a climate more conducive to peace and detente than ever before. This has resulted in welcome agreements between the superpowers on reduction of their arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons. These moves in favour of disarmament have made the world a much safer place to live in.

Another heartening international development has been the signing of Paris Peace Agreements on Cambodia. There is genuine hope after long years of suffering and turmoil for the war-ravaged people of Cambodia to live in peace and to work for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of their country. It is gratifying that the Supreme National Council of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk is now set to assume its due role under the Paris Agreements, symbolizing a sovereign, democratic, and Non-aligned Cambodia.

India has also welcomed the convening of the West Asia Peace Conference jointly sponsored by the USA and the Soviet Union. We hope that the Conference will lead to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the West Asia problem and the Palestinian people will achieve their legitimate right to their homeland. India has consistently supported the cause of the Palestinian people and will continue to do so until an acceptable solution is found.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to reiterate our commitment to the further development of understanding between our two countries, to the promotion of economic and technical co-operation, and to the further consolidation of the friendship between our two countries and peoples.

Reaching New Heights in Bilateral Co-operation

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Nepal in India.

In welcoming you, we also welcome the representative of the newly resurgent multiparty democratic order in Nepal. This has added one more bond, that of shared democratic values, to the innumerable ties that have linked our two peoples and countries for ages. The momentous political changes in Nepal, wrought by a courageous and determined mass movement, have since been fortified by further achievements—the adoption of a new Constitution and the holding of the recent general elections under the new system. Now, the people of Nepal stand on the threshold of a new era, in which they hope for peace, economic progress and a better life. In India too, our Government and the people have similarly been engaged in momentous tasks, of revitalizing our economy and accelerating the overall development process despite the myriad problems created by the tremendous pace and sweep of recent global changes.

Thus today, our two peoples, who share memories of a glorious past, also share high hopes for the future. Both our countries face similar challenges and similar problems. As in the past, so too now, India stands ready to help the people of Nepal in their quest for progress and prosperity. In this we will only be maintaining an old tradition, for India has, since the 1950s, had the privilege of participating in the economic and industrial development of Nepal—in infrastructure building, transport, communications, medicine, education and in the development of water resources. The future holds great promise for a truly new era, in which our bilateral co-operation for the benefit of both our peoples can reach new heights.

Both the Governments have committed themselves to ushering in such a new era and, in the Indo-Nepal Joint Communiqué of June 1990, have in fact identified specific priority areas for such co-operation, chosen to be of direct benefit to our peoples. It is a source of considerable satisfaction to us that since then, a comprehensive programme for such bilateral co-operation, covering a wide range of fields has been jointly prepared. The energetic implementation of this programme—in trade and industry, water resources development, education and agriculture, public health and communications—will enable us to jointly harness the very considerable human, material and natural resources that we both possess with tremendous benefit for us both. India desires to see the rapid development of Nepal, for Nepal's stability and progress are in the region's interest too.

We are, therefore, natural partners in progress. It is only thus that our relationship, rooted in ancient ties of history and geography, culture and custom, will acquire contemporary content and realize its full potential.

May I, Excellency, reiterate my happiness at your appointment as your country's Ambassador to India at such a promising juncture in our relationship. You will have the responsibility of promoting these relations, and we have no doubt that you will play an active and effective role in this context. I would like to assure Your Excellency of my Government's full co-operation in this task. I would also like to wish you a happy, productive and fulfilling tenure in India.

End of the Cold War

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you, Mr President and Madame Tabone, to our country. We welcome you both as long standing friends of India and as a sister country with an ancient civilization like ours.

My wife and I have the pleasantest memories of our visit to the imposing fortifications of Valletta, the unforgettable majesty of St John's Cathedral and your countryside of surpassing beauty. But above all, we carry with us the memories of the warmth of the welcome given to us by Your Excellencies and of the friendliness extended to us by the people of Malta.

As you meet the people of our country and see some of the sights on our historic soil you will, I am sure, find that like your country, India is an exciting blend of the ancient and the modern, the historical and the contemporary, a fascinating past and a promising future. As has been the case with Malta, India received a succession of cultural influences, both gentle and otherwise over the centuries. Each of these impulses has been assimilated and has now become part of the rich mosaic of Indian culture, wherein each facet is distinctive and yet complementary to the totality. Particularly our architecture has been a blend of several influences, the Hindu, the Saracen and the Moghul. That taper tower, Qutub Minar, which Your Excellencies will visit and the peerless Taj Mahal, complement the unique architecture of our Hindu temples that dot our countryside right upto the shores of our South.

Friendliness towards and tolerance of other faiths have been a unique feature of our ancient culture. St Thomas visited India in the first century AD and a church in his sacred memory stands on the mount named after that

saint in Madras. Likewise, Apostle St Paul carried Christianity to the Maltese shores and spread of the message of Christ in your country.

Thanks to the vision of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, India has welded its diverse society into a modern one through the twin instruments of parliamentary democracy and planned economic development. While our journey is far from complete, it gives us satisfaction to see that we have achieved a measure of self-reliance in food production, basic industrial goods and in science and technology. India believes in South-South co-operation in a great measure and is confident that our bilateral co-operation will expand to the mutual advantage of both our countries.

The year 1991 witnessed the most dramatic and far-reaching changes in Europe and the world. The old confrontation between superpowers has yielded place to mutual co-operation in areas like nuclear and general disarmament. The world welcomes the end of the cold war, in which happy development Malta has played a catalytic role. Big gifts, it is truly said, can come in a small package. It was the superpower summit at Malta, that heralded the ending of the cold war. History will always remember this.

Changes, even salutary ones, bring uncertainties in their wake. Nations have to redefine their equations with world trends in the context of the altered situations. India is watching with close interest the evolving situation in Europe, the triumph of democracy and the birth of new national entities on the one side, and the closer integration of the European community on the other. It is our belief that in the emerging world order, a greater awareness of the mutuality between nations, both developed and developing, will be not only desirable but essential. Poverty in a large part of the world is a potential threat to the prosperity of the few. The sooner the world realizes it, the better.

Environment issues in which Your Excellency has a deep and active interest need to be viewed in such a perspective. The forthcoming world Environment Conference will be an important event. Environmental degradation in the greater part of the world has been brought about by the exploitation of natural resources by the developed countries. It is only just and proper that they should bear the burden of rebuilding the ecology. Any attempt by the developed countries to use environmental issues for denying or depriving markets for the developing countries needs to be resisted.

India and Malta have traditionally played a mutually supportive role, in the world's different fora such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth and in the Non-aligned Movement. Besides our avowed policy of promoting goodwill with all countries of the world, we have devoted special attention to the building of mutually beneficial relations with our neighbours in the region. A successful SAARC summit took place in Colombo last month, furthering the opportunities for regional co-operation. We believe that much of the conflicts will disappear if States adopt the universally accepted norms of interstate conduct.

Excellency, may I once again say how delighted we are to have you and Madame Tabone and your distinguished delegation in our midst today. Our

mutual desire for enriched bilateral relations found expression in the opening of a resident mission in Malta. We hope to see a Maltese High Commissioner in New Delhi in the near future. I would also like to take this opportunity to express the confidence that the economic co-operation and the sharing of technology between our two countries will be further strengthened and widened by your visit.

Supporting the Palestinian Cause

IT IS A great pleasure to welcome you, Excellency, in our midst. You are more than a friend to all of us; you are a brother. We welcome you, therefore, not as hosts but as members of the same family—a family which believes in human brotherhood, peace and justice.

Your Excellency is aware of the high regard, admiration and affection you command in our country, as do your brave people, the sons and daughters of Palestine. The Father of our Nation voiced his support for the freedom of your people as long back as the 1930s and Jawaharlal Nehru, the architect of modern India, made your cause our concern. Each contact between Palestine and India is, therefore, a milestone on our shared journey towards a future of freedom, peace and prosperity for our peoples.

India's support for the Palestinian cause, I need hardly reiterate, has remained an abiding national commitment and will continue to remain so until the just Palestinian aspirations are met. We are proud of our long and special relationship with the Palestinian people and with the Palestine Liberation Organization which we recognize as their sole legitimate representative. We value this visit of yours for the opportunity it gives us for an exchange of views on the many matters which are of mutual interest to us.

We are meeting this time, Excellency, at a momentous point in the history of the Palestinian people. The resumption of the West Asia peace process has brought new hope for the resolution of this protracted regional conflict which has, for decades, seen bloodshed, anguish and deprivation. What is tragic is that this trauma was avoidable. You have tried your best, Excellency, over several years to halt the bloodshed but your gallant efforts have not been matched by those of others. Yet, those who wage peace rather than war, cannot afford to despair. Thanks to the pragmatic and realistic approach to create a positive climate for dialogue adopted by the Palestinians, the sincere and unsparing efforts put in by the two co-sponsors to bring together all parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute around a negotiating table, have yielded

good results. We are well aware, Excellency, that this happy development has taken place under your guidance. It is your unrelenting crusade for the cause of your people that has highlighted the urgency of a just and equitable settlement of the Palestinian problem. It is also because of the series of bold and constructive initiatives taken by you in recent years that the peace talks got under way. We are confident that your statesmanship and maturity will finally steer the Palestinian people to realize their dream.

India has always maintained that the Palestinian issue is central to the West Asian problem. We firmly believe that without a just and comprehensive settlement of this issue, there can be no hope for durable peace or stability in the region. Such a settlement must take into account first and foremost, the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, followed by the return of all occupied territory including Jerusalem and finally it should guarantee the security and integrity of all States in the region.

We have, therefore, welcomed the process that has commenced with the Madrid Peace Conference based on the UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. We are confident that all parties concerned will show the necessary flexibility and moderation so that this unique opportunity for a peaceful settlement is not lost. We are happy that the international community has demonstrated its concern for the Palestinian cause by the recent unanimous condemnation by the UN Security Council of the expulsion of Palestinians and by its criticism of Israel's policy of building Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

Excellency, the far-reaching changes in the world's political and economic environment have opened up new opportunities. But they also pose new challenges. The restructured ideological, political and economic systems which are emerging on the international scene may affect the interests of the developing world. For all of us, who share a commitment to a peaceful, democratic and equitable world order there is need more, perhaps, than ever before to work together for the safeguarding of our interests.

In our region we have been trying to actively promote a constructive dialogue with our neighbours to strengthen and further improve our bilateral relations. We have met with considerable success except in the case of Pakistan which continues to vitiate the atmosphere by lending support to subversive and secessionist activities against India and persists in its attempts to internationalize bilateral issues. We are, nonetheless pursuing our efforts to engage in a peaceful dialogue with it in the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

Excellency, I would like to once again extend to you a most warm welcome and to assure you, India is fully prepared, as always, to lend its fullest support to the cause of the Palestinian people. We will continue to support the peace process in every possible way.

Evolving an Equitable World Order

IT IS A great pleasure to welcome your Excellency, and Madame Soares in our midst. My wife and I wish you and your distinguished delegation a very pleasant sojourn in India. You come at a time of the year when the climate is pleasant, Nature is in full bloom and the people are rejoicing over the anniversary of the founding of our Republic. It gives us great satisfaction to welcome Your Excellency as the Chief Guest at our Republic Day celebrations.

On this occasion we recall our visit to your beautiful country two years ago. My wife and I, and members of our delegation, were touched by the warm hospitality which Your Excellencies extended to us and by the goodwill and greetings showered on us by the friendly people of Portugal. I have no doubt that you will also encounter the same warmth and friendship during your visit and will take back with you renewed assurances of the special relationship between India and Portugal.

Excellency, India is fully aware of your personal and outstanding contribution towards building friendly and cordial relations between our two countries. We recall, specifically, your memorable visit to India as Foreign Minister, seventeen years ago. It was during that visit that the historic decision to re-establish diplomatic relations between our two countries was taken. A series of initiatives, measures and contacts have followed since then, to give Indo-Portuguese ties both range and depth. I said, when I arrived in Lisbon, that I was returning the visit in 1498 to India of the great son of Portugal, Vasco da Gama. With your coming here as an honoured guest of the Republic of India, the cycle is truly complete; the cycle of friendship offered sincerely and reciprocated equally sincerely.

We remember too, your personal struggle against dictatorship and your commitment to the establishment of democracy in Portugal—an achievement which has been enshrined in the annals of your country.

Mr President, India is proud of many things such as its cultural heritage and its vast natural resources. But more perhaps than anything else it is proud of the fact that as a civilization of bewildering diversity it has opted for and worked the system of parliamentary democracy. Though the system has been derived from the West, it is in consonance with our ancient culture which recognizes human equality and dignity. The values which our two democracies cherish are universal. Both of us subscribe to the principles of democracy, namely, fair representation, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and equality of opportunity. We believe in the rule of law, respect for human rights and free enterprise.

Excellency, your country has achieved remarkable progress in the last

decade and is currently at the helm of the European Community. This is a privilege as well as, I am sure, a deeply gratifying task for Portugal. I wish you and your Government all success in the coming months in handling this important and crucial responsibility not just for the countries in the region, but for all nations of the world.

In the next few days you will get some idea of the nature and diversity of our country, the progress and the tremendous potential that it has to offer to other nations of the world. We have made rapid strides in several sectors; agriculture, industry and science and technology. The recent liberalization policies announced by the Government have thrown up a whole range of new opportunities for bilateral collaboration.

Our contacts with the countries in Europe have been traditionally deep and close. Both India and the European Community are examples of unity in diversity. Both of us are working towards the evolution of a peaceful, stable and equitable world order. The European Community has taken steps to establish a single market by 1992, and has recently initiated measures for the eventual creation of an economic, monetary and political union. Even today, the EEC is our largest trading partner and an important source of investment and technology.

We feel that the integration of Europe and the ongoing economic reforms in India will open up new opportunities of trade and economic co-operation between the European Community and India. We are optimistic that in the expanding markets of the new Europe, there will be opportunities for India and the European Community to come even closer. In this, we count on the continuing support of Portugal, which has traditionally had a special understanding of the problems and aspirations of the developing countries.

The world is witnessing a vast transformation today. It is our belief that violence, whether between nation and nation or engendered by terrorist groups within nations, is barbaric and should come to an end. We are, therefore, opposed to every form of narrow-minded bigotry including fundamentalism and ethnic divides.

In Europe, changes are occurring at a stupendous pace, in the direction of democracy, reduction of tension, and reassertion of human rights. Everywhere around us, ideological walls and economic barriers are coming down. Co-operation is replacing confrontation; dialogue and discussions are replacing dogmatic approach in interstate relations. It is gratifying that most of these changes have been smooth, orderly and free from violence.

Since Independence, we in India, have been striving to promote cordial and friendly relations with the countries in our neighbourhood. We have always striven for a non-violent world order. Creating a stable and durable environment in our region, promoting the economic well-being of our people have been the overriding priorities of the foreign policy of the new Government in India. This approach has traditionally formed the basis of our various initiatives in international affairs.

Mr President, your present visit to India, I am sure, will add another impressive chapter in the bilateral relationship between our two countries. As

I said earlier, our two peoples are linked together by the legacy of history and also the common aspirations for a better future. I am confident that in the years to come we will work even more closely together to make our shared aspirations come true.

India and Kazakhstan

WE HAVE GREAT pleasure in welcoming you, Mr President, Madame Nazarbaeva, and the distinguished members of the delegation from Kazakhstan. We value this first visit of yours as the Head of State of independent Kazakhstan as it enables us not only to establish personal contact but also to lay the foundations of mutually beneficial relations between our two countries.

Excellency, we are aware that Kazakhstan was the second largest republic in the erstwhile Soviet Union. In fact, your State is 86 per cent of India in area. Your State is extremely rich in minerals: coal, oil and natural gas, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, gold, silver, phosphorus, bauxite, etc. Your State has in recent years developed your agricultural production. A large part of the exports of the Soviet Union came from your part of the country. Coupled with a good infrastructure for industrial development, Kazakhstan has an important role in the newly emerging scenario of the world.

Excellency, your reputation as a dynamic leader committed to democracy and development has preceded you. We in India have followed with deep interest the events leading to the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States and your own invaluable contribution to this process of peaceful and democratic evolution.

Relations between India and Kazakhstan go far back into history. Our peoples have been linked together culturally and economically through the Great Silk Route. In more recent times, there has been noticeable interaction between India and Kazakhstan within the framework of India's relations with the former Soviet Union. For example, our space programme has benefited greatly from the use of the expertise and facilities available at the Baikanaur Space Centre. The emergence of Kazakhstan as an independent country, rich in human and material resources, is an event of great significance which opens new opportunities for direct contact and closer co-operation in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, educational and other fields. The important bilateral agreements which are due to be signed tomorrow would provide the necessary stimulus for this purpose.

India and Kazakhstan share many common values and aspirations. We are living in a fast changing world. Old confrontations have yielded place to new consultations and co-operation. We both believe in democracy and the universal values of peace and non-violence.

Kazakhstan and India are multiethnic countries. You have a composite population of Kazakhs, Russians and Germans even as we have our own several denominations in our country. It is, therefore, imperative for us to adhere to secularism based on equal rights to minorities; protection of language, culture, etc. We understand that Kazakhstan has initiated several measures to promote secularism and ward off separatist tendencies. We hope that your wise, balanced and moderate policies will prove effective and fruitful.

Geographically, Kazakhstan is a bridge between the East and the West and is poised for developing friendly relations with all its neighbours. It is our conviction that peace and stability should be achieved by adhering to the five principles or *Panchsheel*. I am happy that both our countries are committed to this basic principle of international relations and we look forward to greater collaboration between our two countries in this area.

In the economic sphere, we in India are following with interest Your Excellency's efforts to replace the old command system by decentralized economic management methods. We are conscious that change over from one system of economy to another cannot be either easy or smooth and, therefore, your effort in this direction deserves support from all quarters. We have long experience in managing a diversified and dynamic mixed economy. We believe that this is an area where there could be fruitful interaction between our two countries. India stands ready to share with Kazakhstan its experiences in this regard and in other areas of mutually beneficial co-operation.

Excellency, we are convinced that your present visit to India marks the beginning of a long and fruitful relationship between our two countries.

Kindling the Flame of Freedom

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in extending to you, Mr President a warm and cordial welcome to India. As President of SWAPO, Dr Nujoma has visited India a number of times. It gives me immense pleasure to welcome him today as President of the Republic of Namibia.

For the Government and the people of India, it is an honour to have you

with us as the President of independent Namibia that has taken its rightful place in the comity of nations. Your role as leader of SWAPO, which we and the world recognized as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, was crucial to the long and arduous struggle for Namibia's independence. Your historic achievement, of leading the Namibian people to liberty, makes the award of the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development a richly deserved encomium. We are happy that you have come personally to accept the award.

Support for liberation movements around the world, and specifically for the independence of Namibia and to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa has been the corner-stone of Indian foreign policy. This was a natural corollary and outcome of our own freedom movement. Our revered Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru who was the architect of India's foreign policy, spearheaded in the United Nations and elsewhere the movement for emancipation of all peoples living under colonial domination. In pursuance of this policy, India supported morally and materially all countries engaged in the struggle for freedom.

Namibia was no exception. Indeed the iniquities based on racial discrimination added to the misery of colonial domination. Irrespective of changes in government, there was national consensus in India for the unflinching support to the liberation struggle you led for long years in exile. Even as country after country in Africa became free, Namibians remained under alien rule, owing to the intransigence of the colonial regime on one pretext or other. But eventually, the urge of the Namibian people for freedom, the moral force that lay behind the liberation struggle, marshalled and guided by your leadership, overcame the obstacles and at long last, in 1989, the settlement process got under way.

I am happy to note that relations between the world's largest and world's youngest democracies are growing apace, in several areas, including the important area of commerce. Our frequent political contacts, and our cultural exchange programmes have enabled people on both sides to come closer to each other. It is a matter of satisfaction that our technical and economic assistance to Namibia continues unabated. In the task of nation-building which is as important as the liberation struggle, we, Mr President, are ready to extend our fullest co-operation to you and your people. India is not a donor country in the accepted sense of the term. However, we have made considerable progress in agriculture, industry and in science and technology. We have gathered a fund of experience which, we feel, is particularly appropriate to the developing world. We are ready to share all these with the friendly country and people of Namibia.

Mr President, in the last two years or so, events in the world have moved at a baffling pace. The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the virtual elimination of the East-West tension, and confrontation between power blocs have had vast repercussions on the international scene. These have to a large extent helped the peace process globally, and have had a favourable impact on regional and subregional conflicts. However, the

challenges facing the vast majority of developing countries remain as stark as before, and efforts to find solutions to these basic and fundamental problems of economic development, remain totally unattended.

One disturbing trend in the economic field has been the attempt to link bilateral economic co-operation to non-economic conditionalities such as 'good governance', and observance of human rights. In our view it is not possible to frame norms for human rights by an outside party on its unilateral perceptions. India's commitment to human rights and democratic ideals is self-evident. We welcome a continuing focus on human rights everywhere, but this complex and important issue cannot be made into a mechanical formula and applied in widely varying situations. In any event, development needs must have primacy of place, as poverty remains the greatest threat to world peace.

While it is acknowledged that every developing country must undertake the necessary changes to provide a favourable climate for economic growth, it stands to reason that these efforts will need to be supplemented by their developed partners. India has initiated fundamental reforms in the economic, industrial and trade policies to stimulate production, encourage foreign investment and trade, reducing fiscal and other imbalances and giving a fillip to private enterprise. However, the efforts of the developing countries will succeed only if the developed world pays greater attention to the needs of the developing world and makes sincere efforts to address itself to the problems arising from inadequate financial and resource flows, worsening terms of trade, lack of access to advanced technologies and discriminatory trade policies.

As a young nation only recently embarked in the task of nation building, I note that you share many of these concerns and we look forward to frequent consultations and close co-operation with Namibia in these matters.

Mr President, the independence of Namibia was not an isolated instance of the triumph of the collective will of a people over the forces of violence and repression. The flame of freedom and liberty, of peace and harmony, which was kindled in Namibia has now spread across its borders. It has been instrumental in bringing peace to Angola after sixteen years of civil conflict. In neighbouring South Africa, it has raised hopes for a peaceful and negotiated transition to majority rule. The instrument of Satyagraha which gave India *Swaraj* or 'self-rule' was forged by Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, a century ago, when he launched the crusade against racial discrimination in that country. India has, therefore, always felt close emotional empathy for the liberation struggle in South Africa and has consistently championed the rights of the oppressed majority. At the same time we have welcomed the reforms undertaken by President de Klerk over the past two years. These positive measures have enabled the Commonwealth to adopt a programme of phased lifting of sanctions to which India, like Namibia, remains committed. We are especially heartened by the recent successful meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) at which the major political organizations committed themselves

to a non-racial democratic and undivided South Africa based on multi-party democracy and the rule of law. There are also welcome prospects for the formation of an Interim Government on which the black majority would be represented. We are aware that the road ahead will be long, difficult and full of hurdles. The advocates of apartheid will not acquiesce easily in a peaceful settlement. But we are also confident that, as in Namibia, ultimately the will of the people will prevail.

Even though Namibia became independent two years ago, Walvis Bay and the offshore islands still remain in the illegal occupation of South Africa. We call for their immediate return to Namibia, without any further delay, so that the territorial integrity of Namibia is complete.

We accord the highest priority to strengthening our relations with our neighbours in South Asia. India attaches great importance to the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). India remains committed to taking initiatives and assuming responsibility for making SAARC an effective and full-fledged venture of regional co-operation.

India continues with its quest to reduce tensions with Pakistan, notwithstanding Pakistan's support to the militants in Kashmir and Punjab. Our endeavour is to establish good neighbourly relationship with Pakistan on the basis of the Simla Agreement.

The Non-aligned Movement (NAM) as a whole has been assessing its role in the fast changing international scene. We believe that the Movement continues to have an important role to play. It is still the vehicle through which two-thirds of mankind express their priorities and their concerns. The Movement must now direct its endeavours towards a more equitable sharing of global resources and wealth with the developing countries. International trade, environmental issues, the eradication of poverty, hunger, malnutrition and illiteracy—these are important to all mankind and issues on which our concerns must be focused through the collective strength and wisdom of the NAM.

Once again, Mr President, we welcome you and wish you success in the great task you have undertaken on behalf of your country and your people.

A Symbol of Democracy and Human Dignity

IT IS INDEED a very great pleasure for me to present the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament, and Development to His Excellency Dr Sam

Address while presenting the Indira Gandhi Peace Prize to President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, New Delhi, 25 February 1992

Nujoma, President of the Republic of Namibia. I extend to you Mr President my cordial felicitations, on the conferment of this honour which by your sacrifice and service to the cause of peace and development of your people in Namibia and in Africa, you so richly deserve.

Indira Gandhi, in whose name we honour you today, was a multifaceted personality. The world knows of her remarkable political career, her wisdom and courage, and her services to India and her people. Her kinship with nature in all its forms, and her deep devotion to the environment had received universal admiration and acclaim.

She cared for the weak, the poor and underprivileged, and tried her best to improve their lot through a variety of measures. Above all, she was a tireless champion of the oppressed, not only in her country but of all those spread over the world. You, Mr President, are fully aware of her role in the struggle for liberation of Namibia and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Her impassioned endeavour in these areas is part of contemporary history, and part of the bonds that tie us so closely today. Our initiatives at the NAM Conference in Harare and the creation of the AFRICA Fund for the benefit of the frontline States bear testimony to our commitment to assist liberation movements against the Pretoria regime.

By choosing you for the Award of the Indira Gandhi Prize, the international jury has given us an opportunity to pay our tribute to your valiant contribution in leading the people of Namibia to liberty. Your achievement, after long years of untiring struggle, assures you of a golden page in the history of that 'beloved land of savannahs,' as your national anthem describes Namibia.

We live in a world that is in ferment. Change is taking place at a pace that is almost frenetic. These winds of change have affected Africa as well. While peace seems to be emerging from the traditional areas of conflict, new areas of conflict threaten to grow. External vigil is necessary to prevent explosive situations in any part of the world.

There is a welcome change for the better in the situation in South Africa but there are still hurdles and obstacles in the path. Old inequities continue to plague the country. In this chequered scenario, independent Namibia in the short period of its existence, has under your wise and farsighted leadership, already set an example for many other nations to emulate. The establishment of a truly pluralist democracy, operating under a constitution that has been widely praised for its liberal content, the continuing commitment to the rule of law and an independent judiciary, a legislature elected according to the free will of the people—these hold bright prospects for the emerging democratic polity of Namibia. Beyond these admirable achievements, you and your government have displayed a true sense of statesmanship in bringing together all the peoples of Namibia, and removing discord that was the legacy of the earlier racist regime. Your policy of national reconciliation has already attracted widespread approbation and respect. Namibia has now become a symbol of democracy and human dignity. It has proved that given good government and a wise leadership, newly independent countries will not lag

behind the developed countries in preserving and protecting the democratic rights of the people.

May I once again, say how pleased I am to present the Indira Gandhi Prize for Peace, Disarmament and Development to His Excellency Dr Sam Nujoma, President of the Republic of Namibia. On behalf of all those present, I extend to you, Mr President Nujoma, our best wishes for the success, peace and prosperity of your country and your people.

A Well-balanced Foreign Policy

IT IS NOT usual for a President to deliver a lecture on the policies of a Prime Minister. But then Indira Gandhi was an unusual Prime Minister. And so when the Association of Indian Diplomats invited me to deliver the Indira Gandhi Memorial Lecture I not only accepted the invitation unhesitatingly, but decided to make Indira Gandhi's contribution to India's foreign policy the theme of my address.

Indira Gandhi was a child of India's struggle for Independence and she inherited from Mahatma Gandhi and from her father Jawaharlal Nehru the conviction that independence meant not only autonomy of domestic decision-making but, more significantly, the independence of decision-making to suit the country's national interests in the realm of her external relations. Among India's foremost patriots and national leaders, Indira Gandhi became an outstanding world figure whose concerns embraced all humanity. While this was only natural in a daughter of one of the greatest humanist visionaries of our time, we must acknowledge the fact that to the intellectual legacy she inherited, Indira Gandhi brought a vitality that was all her own.

This distinguished gathering will recall that the tasks that confronted India, when Indira Gandhi succeeded Lal Bahadur Shastri as Prime Minister in 1966, were daunting. Our economy, despite the industrial advances of the preceding decade and half, had remained vulnerable to the vagaries of the monsoon. We were short of foodgrains and devaluation of the rupee had not made a significant difference. Politically, the country and the ruling Congress Party were in a state of transition. In this scenario, Indira Gandhi decided that India had, first and foremost, to be self-sufficient in the matter of food. She moved swiftly to ensure the success of the green revolution. Her tenure as Prime Minister, therefore, witnessed momentous events. She initiated with unrivalled energy a series of radical measures such as the abolition of privy purse and nationalization of banks in consonance with the socialistic pattern

of society. Simultaneously, Indira Gandhi proceeded to modernize the nation's armed forces and indigenize the production of a wide range of arms and equipment needed by us, in order to generate greater self-reliance and self-confidence.

But what is noteworthy is that even when she was engrossed in national problems, Indira Gandhi's hands moved the knobs of world thought and global action. Like her father, she saw India unfold its destiny in the perspective of human history. Foreign policy was not, for her, an exotic diversion but an integral facet of national endeavours.

During her long tenure as India's Prime Minister and even earlier, during Panditji's time, I had the privilege of representing our Government on Committees and Councils of the United Nations. Later, when I served in her Cabinet as Finance and Defence Minister, I had occasion to observe, first hand, her direction of foreign policy. In my judgment, one of her most outstanding contributions was to infuse India's foreign policy with an awareness of the country's vital security and economic needs.

Fortunately, in the abundance of problems and difficulties, both internal and external, that Smt Indira Gandhi found herself in, there was a good deal to build upon—the extensive infrastructure of economic development created during the Nehru years, the global range of his foreign policy and the high prestige, his peace initiatives in Korea, Indo-China and the Congo had brought India, and the revival of India's confidence and self-assurance following Shastriji's firm response to Pakistan's provocations and aggression. Only, the priorities had to be right: and once decided, they had to be pursued imaginatively and with determination.

It was precisely in the ordering of India's priorities and their unfaltering pursuit in the face of domestic dissidence and external obstructions in the first five years of her Prime Ministership, that Indira Gandhi displayed her great qualities as a national leader and world statesperson: courage and determination, resilience in the face of adversity, global vision and high idealism combined with an acute sense of the practical and the possible.

It was her belief that Indian foreign policy should project Indian values to promote world harmony while safeguarding Indian national interest with courage and conviction. But courage and conviction, she insisted, "must be allied to an astute, hard-headed analysis of international affairs and events" and that this analysis should at all times be devoid of emotion and sentiment. Hard-headed analysis led to several conclusions around which she formulated the specifics of policy, be they in relation to the two superpowers, China and Pakistan and India's other neighbours.

To cut India's dependence on PL-480 foodgrains which was vitiating Indo-American relations and India's own ability to pursue an independent policy on questions of war and peace like, for instance, Vietnam, she decided to invest all necessary resources in the modernization and expansion of India's agriculture. A multidimensional crash programme brought the green revolution and self-sufficiency in foodgrains. Her handling of the task of reversing the refugee exodus and enabling them to go back to their homes

with honour in 1972, the emergence of the sovereign State of Bangladesh and the Simla Agreement with Pakistan were unique achievements.

Indira Gandhi had an uncommon mastery of the mystique of foreign policy. She once remarked that for rich and powerful countries it was easier to fashion relations with other countries and pursue foreign policy; that a country like India had to make up for her lack of riches and power with some other quality. That 'other quality', she added, was a sum-total of "certain intangible elements which are just as important or decisive in forming our point of view".

Similarly, in her great contributions in the area of disarmament, she practised what she preached. India could have gone for a Nuclear Weapons Programme after Pokhran. Indira Gandhi did not do so, because she was committed, even as her father had been, to the total ban of nuclear armaments. Redressal of imbalances and disparities among and within nations, progress in consonance with the laws of nature, true inter and intra-dependence of nations for growth, obligation of the affluent nations to banish poverty from the world for their own continued prosperity, ethical aspects of scientific and technological progress, public health, global concord, disarmament, development and peace, fraternity, equality, these were some of the themes on which she spoke before national and world gatherings.

As the years rolled by, respect for her policies grew and she became the only world personality to have presided over both the NAM and Commonwealth Summits in one year. At these Summits in New Delhi in 1983, Indira Gandhi spoke for a just International Economic Order where the have-nots will have an equitable share in the resources of the world. In their initial addresses at the Summit, some of the developed countries had taken the stand that the international financial institutions had stood the test of time and no changes were called for in their structure and programmes, but the final consensus statement reflected by Indira Gandhi's thinking. This was not only a triumph for her personally but a signal tribute by the world community to her astute negotiating ability and her persuasive powers which had enabled her to convert even those who differed from, or opposed her, to her way of thinking in the larger interests of a new world order.

Indira Gandhi was an innovator and a pioneer in several branches of human activity. She was perhaps the first Head of Government to bring environment on the agenda of the world. As Gorbachev said, "She belongs to all mankind." The industrialized world adds nearly 14 billion tonnes of carbon to our atmosphere annually. Our waters are being poisoned, our soils destroyed, forests cut. The world's natural capital is running out. Indira Gandhi highlighted all this, at a time when it was not fashionable to do so.

In the Raul Prebisch Lecture, delivered on 8 June 1983 at the Sixth UNCTAD in Belgrade, Indira Gandhi described herself as 'a soul in agony' because she felt passionately about freedom and could not but be alarmed at the 'continuing, pushing domination' and at the threat to life posed by 'genocidal and eco-cidal' nuclear and chemical arsenals. She said: "On this small planet of ours, there is no room for permanent enmities and irreversible

alienations.... (Therefore) international relations must be reorganised gradually but surely on the basis of living and evolving together, starting by finding areas of commonality and enlarging them, identifying the links and strengthening them”.

It was her hope that growing awareness of ‘one earth’ and ‘one environment’ would, one day, guide the modern world to the concept of one humanity.

Indira Gandhi’s basic goals were eradication of hunger and poverty, speedier progress of the Third World countries, protection of life-sustaining resources, quest for new sources of energy, economic and scientific collaboration among the developing nations, and ceaseless pursuit for non-alignment and peace, rejecting the politics of power blocs and superpower rivalry. “True security is not the defence of this or that country”, she reaffirmed in June 1983 at Belgrade, “but of the world as a whole.” For her, human needs, human dignity, human goodness, human happiness, and human values were the imperatives for a better world.

In her address to the special convocation of the Sorbonne University which conferred an honorary Doctorate on her on 13 November 1981, she spoke philosophically about the modern world’s problems. She said:

“As knowledge grows, so does ignorance. Not only is there too much to know but we become lost in statistics and torrents of information and we miss the real meaning or ultimate purpose.... In spite of the revolution in communications, access to significant knowledge is tenuous. When we consider that decisions affecting millions of people, and billions yet unborn, are being made everyday by those who are not even aware of their own ignorance, we can only marvel at the providence which keeps the world going. Now more than ever we miss and seek the grand synthesis....”

Indira Gandhi’s approaches to world problems increasingly displayed a high mindedness and, simultaneously, an extraordinary pragmatism.

Indira Gandhi’s pragmatic nature came to the fore in her handling of the specific foreign policy problems facing the country—relations with Pakistan and China, the equations with USA and with the USSR. Her strong sense of realism led her to the conclusion that primarily India would have to rely on her own strength for her defence.

She told a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party that borrowed strength through alliances could not provide real strength: that it would not provide any real security: that it might, in fact, deceive us into a feeling of complacency and really lead us into certain dangerous situations later on. “The only security” she once said, “is to strengthen our own people and to be confident of ourselves.”

I do not intend to catalogue her activities and achievements countrywise but the great skill, wisdom, restraint, and courage she displayed during the Bangladesh crisis deserves special mention. Indian diplomacy was, in that crisis, seen at its best, proceeding with brilliant co-ordination, towards a well-defined goal. For the cause of the Bangladeshis we were able to enlist

support from unexpected quarters. The great human tragedy of East Pakistan was placed on the world's agenda.

Let me recall the circumstances that led to the signing of the Simla Agreement 20 years ago which has been the bedrock of our relations with Pakistan. There can be no doubt that it has saved both countries from war, for over two decades. And yet we all know, that Indira Gandhi had been under no compulsion to sign the Agreement. Bangladesh had become a fact, and 90,000 Pak prisoners were in our custody. So, in a sense there was no compulsion to come to terms with Mr Bhutto. He could well have gone back empty-handed. But Indira Gandhi took a statesman-like and long-term view of Indo-Pak relations. She believed that it was in our mutual interest to establish a framework for a harmonious relationship that would facilitate our future progress.

Indira Gandhi's generosity at Simla in the wake of a swift and outstanding triumph of India's arms, foreign policy and diplomacy against great odds attracted some criticism. But she was right in offering Pakistan's Prime Minister a peace accord which saved his country unnecessary humiliation and him considerable political diminution. There is no better way to transform enmity into friendship and to change history's unhappy course. It is another matter that Mr Bhutto himself failed to live up to the promise of Simla and that after 18 years, his successors have, once again, taken recourse to an abandonment of the spirit of the Simla Agreement. Violations of the Simla Agreement by Pakistan and the support to terrorism to achieve its aim in Kashmir could create needless tensions which can be in no one's interest.

Indira Gandhi recognized that because of the East-West confrontation and Pakistan's membership of Western Alliances, America's tilt towards Pakistan would persist for sometime and India would be of little help to American interests. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, needed India's friendship as much as India needed hers, and a relationship of equality and mutual benefit was, therefore, possible. She proceeded to strengthen Indo-USSR relations after disabusing the latter of its expectation to take a mediator's role between India and Pakistan. The high point of this new relationship was reached in the Friendship Treaty of August 1971 which helped ward off the combined American and Chinese threat of force in the ensuing India-Pakistan conflict.

Relations with America had remained cool through much of Indira Gandhi's first term in office. To the differences over Bangladesh's liberation in 1971 were added new tensions and disagreements over India's refusal to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, over India's peaceful nuclear explosion and America's subsequent denial of fuel for the Tarapur nuclear energy plant. However, Indira Gandhi responded warmly towards the United States in her second term of office. Some of the misunderstanding over India's attitude towards the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan were also corrected and a new era of Indo-US co-operation in a number of fields, especially in high technology exchanges, was opened.

Meanwhile, Indo-Soviet friendship continued to thrive in spite of the differences over Afghanistan. Indira Gandhi had characterized the entry of

Soviet forces in Afghanistan as 'unacceptable' and it seemed that in October 1982, during a visit to Moscow, she had persuaded General Secretary Brezhnev of the wisdom of withdrawing from Afghanistan. But unfortunately Brezhnev, already ailing, did not live long enough to initiate a move in that direction.

While, in the face of China's continuing differences and a fresh pouring of American arms into Pakistan, Indira Gandhi regarded Indo-Soviet friendship as central to her foreign policy, she did not allow the relationship to act as any kind of a constraint on developing equally friendly relations with other countries. She wanted India to be friendly with every country with all options open to her all the time. It was a favourite charge of her critics that non-alignment and an alleged, exclusive closeness to Moscow had left India friendless in the world. In August, 1970 she rebutted such charges in simple words which foreign policy makers should do well to recall from time to time:

"India today has about as many friends as any other country has. How we keep those friends or whether they remain friends is not dependent merely on what we do, but what happens to their national interests at any given time."

The many veterans of foreign policy and diplomacy will, I am sure, agree with the wisdom and astuteness of this perception of international friendship.

Indira Gandhi did not regard India and China as competitors or rivals. In fact, she nursed the hope that China would come to appreciate the fact that friendly relations between the two large Asian countries are in mutual interest. When China began to show such awareness, she responded with promptness and proceeded, step by step, to normalize relations, virtually setting aside for the time being the complex border problem.

With India's smaller neighbours, Indira Gandhi continued Jawaharlal Nehru's policy of sympathy and understanding, even in the face of occasional provocation or a sustained under-current of hostility. Problems of one kind or another are bound to arise among neighbours. Indira Gandhi's policy was to resolve them amicably through negotiations, and help neighbours if they needed help and asked for it. She respected their sovereignty and aspirations and expected them to avoid jeopardy to India's vital security concerns.

Through her personal visits to countries far and near, or through the despatch of embassies and delegations, through invitations to foreign dignitaries and delegations, through NAM and Commonwealth Summits, and at international gatherings at the UN, India under Indira Gandhi projected these objectives with remarkable impact in far corners of the globe—in Latin America and Africa, in Japan and Mongolia, in the USSR's Central Asian Republics and countries of Eastern Europe and nearer home in South-East and West Asia.

Within this global sweep, India's foreign policy under Indira Gandhi pursued carefully—established priorities with a keen eye on the future. For example, her careful nurturing of contacts with a number of European countries, including Britain, France, Germany and Italy, laid the foundation for an expanded political and economic relationship with an evolving

European Community. So also with Japan whose expanding economic and political role Indira Gandhi was able to perceive well in advance.

The world of 1992, however, is vastly different from the world Indira Gandhi left in 1984. Momentous events have taken place in Eastern Europe and the former USSR. Germany is one. The EEC is a new and powerful entity. Namibia is free. Nelson Mandela is dismantling apartheid. Cambodia is a UN ward. Afghanistan is free of Soviet troops. Nuclear disarmament has begun. But, on the other side of the coin, Yugoslavia is torn by a civil war. The West is in the grip of a menacing recession. Poverty, hunger and illiteracy continue to plague the world. A new world order has been proclaimed but awaits definition. The North-South dialogue is at a standstill.

And so if the world has changed for the better in some vital respects, it has not, in some others. Command economies may have disappeared, but the market economy does not offer instant salvation. There is more to economic restructuring than putting the market before everything else and human rights above hunger, illiteracy and development. Even the richest nation in the world is the largest debtor in history.

Unless economic interaction on a global scale is carried on democratically, the desired goals will not be achieved. New tensions and pressures will emerge between the North and the South, between the developing and the industrialized nations.

Of late, attempts have been made to question the wisdom of the policies of Nehru and Indira Gandhi. Non-alignment is being dismissed in certain quarters as a relic of the past. Simplistic and superficial rhetoric can be no substitute for reasoned debate and critics of Indira Gandhi's non-alignment will recognize that even though the Soviet Union has disappeared from the scene, India is neither isolated nor friendless. In the 50s, 60s, 70s, and 80s, NAM spearheaded the struggle against colonialism and racialism. It must today raise its voice against the injustices and inequities of the current decade and of the emerging 21st century.

Non-alignment is not an ism. It cannot become outdated any more than commonsense can become outdated. The cold war has ended. That does not make the UN Charter irrelevant. The Non-aligned countries represent the will and voices of three-fourths of humankind. No nation, no group of nations can disregard the NAM. There must be something to it for China to seek membership and Germany to get observer status in the NAM.

But while the framework created by Nehru and built upon by Indira Gandhi is irreplaceable, we are from time to time required to make adjustments and alterations in the conduct of our foreign policy. Not to adapt oneself to changing situations is a sign of senility.

The next decade will be beset by crises, different from those of the past. The new species of crises will include over-population, poverty, environment, terrorism, drugs, ethnic and religious conflict, fundamentalism, acute tensions between the rich and poor countries.

It is my belief that physical deficiencies like hunger, disease, illiteracy can be eliminated provided the industrialized countries co-operate in establishing

a truly just and democratic world economic and political order. The developing world has to be an active participant on the world stage. We should, therefore, continuously define our concerns to ourselves and reorder our priorities afresh.

Diplomacy is an arena of challenge and response. There are no fixed challenges, nor fixed responses. We have inherited a policy framework, which looks at each question on its merits and the response is structured after wide consultation. There has lately been much talk of a new world order. To our mind any new order must be just, democratic, creative, stable and durable. It cannot be imposed. It should be consensual.

High on the agenda of the next decade remain: peace, disarmament and development. Nothing has highlighted this more publicly than the recently held Summit Level Meeting of the UN Security Council. India's concerns, priorities and doubts were articulated by Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in measured phrases and well-chosen words. While accepting a vital role for the UN, the Prime Minister did not neglect to point out that the Charter is only as legitimate and secure as its underpinning by the collective will of the international community. At every step the interpretation of the Charter as well as the actions by the Security Council must flow from the collective will and not from the predilections of a few.

The sheet anchor of India's foreign policy may be enunciated as follows:

1) We do not covet an inch of foreign territory and will not indulge in any aggressive adventure.

2) We do not aspire for leadership of the World, Asia or even South Asia but will contribute our mite to strengthening peace and prosperity in the world.

3) We shall resolve all differences with other countries by peaceful discussions and negotiations and eschew violence as an instrument for the settlement of disputes. Consultation and not confrontation will be our motto.

These principles will inform our policies towards China and Pakistan, our relations with the newly independent States of the former Soviet Union and the developed countries of the West. There will be no deviation from the path whatever party may be in charge of the governance of the country, through the democratic process. The ethos of the nation cannot be changed.

By its very definition, diplomacy is the art and craft of negotiation. Naturally one negotiates with representatives of sovereign States. These representatives reflect what are called national interests. The success of diplomacy lies in safeguarding one's vital national interests, without treading on too many international toes, or to change the metaphor, it is like walking on oranges. The less you crush underfoot, the better your diplomacy.

For those entrusted with the framing and implementation of policy today and in the future, the nimble but sure-footed policies of Indira Gandhi will remain an infallible guide.

Building New Bridges of Co-operation

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you Mr President and Madame Akaeva, to our country. Your visit adds another link to the age-old chain that connects India with Kyrghyzstan and the Central Asian region.

Excellency, your reputation as an eminent scientist, a humanist and a democrat precedes you. We in India have been following the reforms that you have initiated in your country with close attention. We have also taken note of your belief in the viability of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the need for proper implementation of the agreements already signed within the CIS framework. We wish you success in your endeavours.

India's relations with the Central Asian region of the former USSR have both a historic and contemporary dimension. Our peoples have been linked together culturally and economically. We are convinced that the links that exist between our two peoples would be further strengthened by your visit to India.

We welcome Kyrghyzstan into the world community of nations and look forward to close co-operation in several areas of mutual interest. The important agreements that are to be signed tomorrow would provide the foundation for this and it would be our endeavour to build a strong edifice on these foundations.

Excellency, India and Kyrghyzstan share many common values and aspirations. Both our countries believe in democracy and the universal values of peace and non-violence. We are both multi-ethnic countries committed to pursue secular policies. We further share the belief that international relations should be based on the time tested principles of *Panchsheel*.

Your Excellency's activities are focused on building a modern and democratic State in Central Asia. We are conscious of the difficulties that such an effort entails but under your wise and statesman-like leadership, we have no doubt that you would succeed in overcoming them.

We have recently embarked on a programme of further economic liberalization. We also have extensive experience in managing a diverse and dynamic mixed economy. We would be happy to share our experience with the friendly people of Kyrghzstan in this and other areas of mutual interest.

Excellency, Kyrghyzstan is now a full member of the United Nations. We were happy to support Kyrghyzstan's entry into the world body and we look forward to close co-operation between our two countries in the international arena in general and on issues of mutual concern such as disarmament, development, maintenance of international peace and security and the establishment of a just and equitable international order.

We look upon your visit to India as a first step in building new bridges and strengthening of co-operation that have existed between our two countries.

Our relationship would, no doubt, develop to mutual benefit and in the interest of peace and security in our region.

Building a Multifaceted Relationship

ON BEHALF OF the Government and the people of India, I extend to you a warm welcome on your first State Visit to India as the President of independent Ukraine. Your visit constitutes a historic landmark in the process of high level political dialogue and contact that has already been initiated since Ukraine achieved independence last December.

The Ukraine with its extensive natural resources, modern industrial and scientific base and a productive agrarian economy has substantial geo-political, geo-strategic and economic implications. India and Ukraine have had quite extensive interchanges in the past. The reforms that Your Excellency has initiated in your country over the recent past, are, therefore, of considerable interest to us.

Your Excellency is one of the chief architects of the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The Government of India have noted that CIS is not conceived either as a State or a Super State. The evolution of the structures and institutional mechanisms of the Commonwealth are of interest to us as they are to the world community at large.

The blossoming of Ukraine as an independent entity provides new and diverse opportunities for greater interaction between our two countries at Governmental, institutional, business and people to people levels.

Diplomatic relations between our two countries have already been established. Several significant agreements between our two countries are to be signed during this visit. These would provide the necessary framework for building strong and multifaceted relations between our two countries and for mutually beneficial co-operation. Given the past history of co-operation and the new framework that is being set in place, I am confident that Indo-Ukrainian relations will see rapid growth in both quantitative and qualitative terms. This would be our endeavour.

Ukraine has been a member of the United Nations since its inception. Our two countries share a common approach to world issues. We today face a different world where old antagonisms and rivalries have eased and we are moving towards a new international order. India and Ukraine, as countries committed to democracy and the universal values of peace, disarmament and non-violence can together contribute wholesomely to the establishment of a

new, just and equitable international order. We look forward to working together towards the goal.

Excellency, you are engaged in the difficult and complex task of reorienting the economic structures in your country and integrating your economy more closely into the world economy. As an eminent economist, you are well placed to steer your country through this complex and difficult task. As you are aware, we have since Independence acquired extensive experience in running a mixed economy that is based essentially on market relations. Of late, we ourselves have further liberalized the Indian economy so as to integrate it even more closely into the international economic system. We have a modern infrastructure and have extensive experience of dealing with the international trade and financial institutions. It would give us great pleasure to share our experiences and expertise with the friendly Government and the people of Ukraine.

Excellency, your visit to India marks the beginning of a new era in Indo-Ukrainian relations. We are convinced that our relations will grow from strength to strength not only to mutual benefit but also in the interest of the world community.

The Beginning of a New Era

IT IS A great pleasure to have you, Mr President, amidst us today. I extend to you and the distinguished members of your delegation a warm and cordial welcome to this ancient land of ours.

India and Turkmenistan have close cultural and historical links. The emergence of an independent Turkmenistan with its geo-strategic location and natural wealth is a development of considerable significance. This visit of yours, Mr President, will doubtless further strengthen relations between our two countries.

We are appreciative of the laudable objectives set before it by the Government of Turkmenistan and the stability that Your Excellency has brought to your country. Your Government's policies to safeguard the interests of all sections of society, irrespective of religion and ideology, and to establish a democratic, and peaceful State are objectives that we fully share. Turkmenistan and India are multi-ethnic countries and thus have similar problems. As a secular State India opposes all forms of fundamentalism as fundamentalism gives rise to unnecessary avoidable and debilitating conflict. History has proved that no development can take place without internal

peace and stability. With the commitment to democracy shared by our two countries. I am sure we will find large areas of co-operation between our two countries.

We welcome Turkmenistan into the world community of nations and look forward to close co-operation in subjects of mutual interest, both at the bilateral and international levels. The important agreements that are to be signed tomorrow will help us achieve this objective. It would be our further endeavour to ensure the development of contact at people to people level to restore the traditional ties that bound us in the past.

We empathise with the decision of the Government of Turkmenistan to strive for a self-reliant economy, to make a transition to the market economy and, at the same time, provide social protection for the vulnerable sections of society.

India has been engaged in a similar exercise ever since we achieved Independence. For the purpose of our developmental efforts we have followed the path of a mixed economy that provides for coexistence of the public and private sectors functioning within the overall framework of market relations. The Government of India has also taken steps recently to further liberalize the Indian economy so as to ensure that positive growth impulses gain further momentum. In the course of the last four decades and more we have accumulated technological experience and expertise that could be of use for the developing countries as a whole. We are ready to share them with the friendly people and the Government of Turkmenistan.

Excellency, we are well aware of your reputation as a dynamic leader committed to democracy and development. We have followed with close attention the events leading to the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States and your own considerable contribution to this process of peaceful and democratic evolution.

We live in a fast-changing world in which it is even more imperative to abide by the universally accepted values of peace and non-violence and the time-tested principles of *Panchsheel*. By working together countries like ours can ensure the evolution of a just and equitable international order that would ensure peace, prosperity and harmony in the world.

Excellency, we are convinced that your present visit to India marks the beginning of a new era in direct and mutually beneficial relations between our peoples and countries.

A Historic Relationship

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to extend a warm welcome to Your Highness and to the members of your distinguished delegation.

Your Highness, you are no stranger to us; indeed you are a close friend of long standing. We have had the pleasure of receiving you here in 1975 when you came on a State visit and again in 1983 when you visited New Delhi for the Non-aligned Summit. We are delighted to receive you once again in our midst today.

India and the United Arab Emirates have a mutually enriching and historic relationship, embracing practically all fields of human activity. This historic relationship across the centuries has created in the Indian mind a strong and abiding sentiment of affection for the people represented by Your Highness and your delegation. Both our Governments have exerted themselves to build upon the strong foundation of our historical links. Our bilateral relations have grown from strength to strength in recent years.

Your Highness, your people recently celebrated the successful completion of a quarter century of your rule after your accession as the Ruler of Abu Dhabi. You have been President of the United Arab Emirates since its foundation. The Government and the people of India hold you in the highest esteem as the architect of a modern State which under your charismatic and farsighted leadership has made spectacular progress, in areas of economic and social development. In fact, under your wise and dynamic leadership, the United Arab Emirates has become one of the fastest growing economies of the world. We recognize the United Arab Emirates as a modern State where people from different parts of the world live harmoniously and contribute to the progress of the Emirates. The leadership that you have provided reminds us of the imperative need to combine political power with philosophical wisdom as adumbrated by Plato.

The presence of a large number of Indian nationals in the United Arab Emirates has added a special dimension to our relationship. I have been pleased to find that our discussions have once again reconfirmed my belief that the Indian community is contributing to the progress and development of the United Arab Emirates. We are particularly grateful to Your Highness for the benevolent interest you and your Government have invariably taken in the welfare and prosperity of the Indian community in the United Arab Emirates.

The United Arab Emirates and India share similar views and perceptions. We are inspired by the same enlightened goals in managing our respective societies; at the same time we both seek consensus and mutually beneficial co-operation with all the countries and peoples of the world. Both of us wish

to defuse tensions and to avoid confrontation. We have, together, worked towards the goal of a peaceful world based upon mutual respect, tolerance and co-operation, indeed the goals which mankind should strive for. Both the UAE and India believe that development should receive the highest priority, and that disparities between the North and the South should be equitably redressed. Our two countries share many common perceptions and interests in the region. It is in the interest of both the UAE and India to participate in the building of a peaceful and stable environment in our region which covers both South Asia and the Gulf. The best method of creating such an environment is to strengthen our bilateral links, maintain regular consultations, and develop a concrete convergence of interests through enhanced trade and economic co-operation.

The Gulf occupies a vital position in regional communications and global resources. The liberation of Kuwait was indeed an act of affirmation of international legality.

The challenges of today's world, which is marked by rapid changes, make it necessary for us to continue and reinforce our friendship.

During your visit, Your Highness, we hope to develop further our co-operation in many different areas. The discussions that we shall have with you over the next two days will no doubt impart fresh vigour and momentum to our relationship.

Coming Closer Together

I EXTEND A warm welcome to you as the High Commissioner of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and wish you a successful tenure during which I hope Indo-Bangladesh relations will grow from strength to strength. I am sure you will note, in full measure, the enormous goodwill that exists for your people and country in the hearts of my countrymen.

The future is full of possibilities for meaningful bilateral co-operation between India and Bangladesh. It is for us to seize this opportunity and elevate our friendship to higher levels for the mutual benefit of our peoples.

Our countries have had multifaceted interaction touching all spheres of life. Democracy striking new roots in your country is a welcome development. We must now live up to the expectations and desires of our peoples to come closer together and to realize fully the potential that exists for expanding co-operation between our countries.

India's policy towards Bangladesh is based on friendship and good neighbourly relations. We share many strong ties of history and culture. Through a constructive dialogue and a shared desire to find mutually acceptable solutions to all bilateral problems, we must endeavour to open a new chapter in our relations. India views her future relations with your country in a forward-looking and positive perspective.

I understand that your Prime Minister is likely to visit India later this month. We look forward to this visit which will cement our friendship further.

May I take this opportunity to request Your Excellency to convey our greetings and best wishes to His Excellency Mr Abdur Rahman Biswas, President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the friendly people of Bangladesh.

Identifying New Areas of Co-operation

I HAVE GREAT pleasure in extending to Your Excellency and to the distinguished members of your delegation, a very warm and cordial welcome. I recall your earlier visit to India as the Governor-General of Mauritius in the year 1988. It is now my pleasure to receive you as the first President of the Republic of Mauritius. May the Mauritian Republic become the brightest star of the Indian Ocean.

India enjoys a special relationship with Mauritius—a relationship that derives sustenance from close ethnic bonds and strong cultural ties that go back to 150 years. Indo-Mauritian relations have been nurtured over the years by frequent high level visits and people to people contacts. The accession of Mauritius to Republic status has brought our two countries even closer. The visit of our Prime Minister to Mauritius on that august occasion is a reaffirmation of the close ties that exist between the two countries.

Excellency, I would like to express our deep appreciation of your signal contribution to the promotion of Indo-Mauritian co-operation. We hope that you will continue to strengthen the course of Indo-Mauritian friendship in the years ahead. Though you are no stranger to India, your present tour of our country will, I am sure, enable you to reacquaint yourself with different facets of our cultural heritage which constitutes the bedrock of our close relations.

We also recall, Excellency, your association with Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the Father of the Mauritian Nation and architect of Indo-Mauritian friendship. There are many dimensions to the friendship and co-operation between India and Mauritius today. We have an active

programme of cultural exchanges. We recall with deep gratitude your contribution to the preservation of Indian culture in Mauritius and your role in the establishment of the Mahatama Gandhi Institute. It is also heartening to note that the Indira Gandhi Centre for Indian Culture has commenced functioning. In trade, investments and technology, Mauritius is an increasingly important partner for India in the Indian Ocean region. In the area of education and manpower development, we offer privileged access to Mauritius. Our Joint Commission, at the ministerial level promotes developmental co-operation. We look forward to identifying new areas of co-operation and sharing the fruits of scientific and technological research with you.

Mauritius is an active member of the Indian Ocean Commission. We have offered to co-operate with the Commission on specific projects.

We support the stand of Mauritius on Diego Garcia. I take this opportunity to reaffirm our support for the sovereignty of Mauritius over the Chagos archipelago.

We welcome the end of the cold war. Time has come to reorient the Non-aligned Movement to the post cold war realities and to focus on the long felt desire to bring about a new international order based on justice and equity. We also need to address ourselves to the new and emerging priorities such as disarmament, development, environment and democratization of the UN. In this, as on many other issues, India and Mauritius stand together.

We welcome the positive developments taking place in South Africa and look forward to the fall of the last bastions of apartheid.

Excellency, we shall always be with you in building a strong and prosperous Mauritius, and in working for a new world order based on co-operation among nations for the common weal of all mankind.

IX
TRIBUTES

Acharya Narendra Dev

I DEEM IT a privilege to be asked to unveil the statue of that scholar among statesmen and statesman among scholars, Acharya Narendra Dev. I would like to convey my sincere thanks to Shri Chandra Shekharji for affording me this opportunity to pay my tribute to Acharyaji.

It was my great good fortune to have come in contact with Acharyaji in the second half of 1940. I accompanied Acharyaji during his tours of the State of Madras and translated his speeches into Tamil for the benefit of his audiences. These audiences were mainly comprised industrial workers. Both the audience and the translator, namely, myself, were captivated by Acharyaji's vast learning, utmost simplicity and above all his total and transparent sincerity.

Acharya Narendra Dev was one of those great sons of versatile talent that were born to Mother India in the dark night of her political thralldom. Sharing the same year of birth as Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Acharya Kripalani and other stalwarts he became, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, one of the shapers of nascent India's destiny.

Acharya Narendra Dev was born to ordinary means. But history selected him for an extraordinary role. Even as a child he could recite not only the *Gita* but also the *Amara Kosha*. At the tender age of ten, Narendra Dev made his way to that year's Congress Session in Lucknow. Lokamanya Tilak was addressing the Session in English. Young Narendra Dev did not understand everything that was being said and yet, listening to the Lokamanya was an experience that left a permanent impression on his fresh mind.

After finishing his education, the brilliant student was inevitably regarded as ICS material. But Narendra Dev was not attracted towards personal gains. His spirit rebelled against political enslavement and economic exploitation. Within five years of his law studies, Narendra Dev plunged into the national movement. The politics of Lal, Bal, Pal, namely, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Bipin Chandra Pal, as also of Aurobindo Ghose, suffused his imagination. Their example roused his patriotic fervour to the highest level. And, of course, there was the magnetic influence of Gandhiji. Narendra Dev became an untiring recruit to the freedom struggle. But, scholar that he was, Narendra Dev continued to enrich his intellect.

Thus it was that Narendra Dev was able to serve both the Home Rule League as also the Kashi Vidyapith. At the Vidyapith he first joined the staff under the guidance of the Savant, Dr Bhagwan Das, with Sri Prakasa and Sampurnanand as his colleagues. But he soon became one of the most respected scholar teachers at the Vidyapith and earned the appellation of

Acharya. Among his students were Pandit Kamlapati Tripathi and Lal Bahadur Shastri.

If patriotism and scholarship thus combined in a creative mutuality a third factor soon came to be noticed in Acharyaji's personality, as well. Acharyaji's readings had led him to the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and the British Fabians. The poverty of the rural masses and their exploitation by the feudal society drew Acharyaji spontaneously to the socialist creed. The Marxist doctrine of class struggle struck a sympathetic chord in him and he came passionately to believe in the labour theory of value, namely, the doctrine that labour was the producer of value. My own approach to these issues was in unison with Acharyaji's and we developed a camaraderie between us during the weeks we were going round addressing the labour in Tamil Nadu.

The British did not spare him of their attention. But Acharyaji was the gold that becomes all the purer in the furnace.

Repeated incarcerations widened his reading and deepened his socialist patriotism. Gandhiji and Marx claimed his commitment equally and non-exclusively. Acharyaji's grounding in the Indian ethos made him see in the Mahatma, India's authentic voice. The Mahatma's stress on ahimsa appealed to Acharyaji although he regarded satyagraha essentially as an instrument and not as a faith. Acharyaji was one of the most skilful and sincere *satyagrahis* and Gandhiji himself termed him as a 'Jewel'. Acharyaji also participated in Gandhiji's constructive programmes and believed in the efficacy of that programme as a harbinger of social transformation.

Acharyaji, however, felt that the peasantry and the working classes should form the backbone of the political movement. In 1934, he became the natural choice for the chairmanship of the newly formed socialist group within the Congress. The charismatic Jayaprakash Narayan was its Secretary.

Acharyaji's faith in the Gandhian method was respected by all his Marxist friends even as his Marxism was respected by all his Gandhian associates. The reason for this was simple. Acharyaji's Gandhism as well as his Marxism were hundred per cent genuine. He did not strike any political postures for the sake of effect. He did not adopt any creed because it was fashionable. If he was a Gandhian, it was because he was passionately committed to truth and because personal integrity, austerity and self-denying sincerity—all Gandhian values—were second nature with Acharyaji.

Similarly, if he was a Marxist it was because exploitation was anathema to him. Thus, it was that he could be both a true Gandhian and a genuine Marxist.

It is important for us to remember that as a Gandhian, Acharyaji was not a faddist and as a Marxist, he was not doctrinaire. He was too compassionate a human being and too sincere a thinker to allow his mind to rigidify. Just as he became an exemplary *satyagrahi* but did not adopt satyagraha as an absolute creed, Acharyaji believed that socialism must insist on the free development of the human personality. He believed that the socialist aims should be the promotion of social happiness of which individual happiness is an essential constituent. Acharyaji, therefore, regarded the liberation struggle in India as

a revolutionary phase in which a movement rooted in the Indian ethos takes our society towards an era free of exploitation and dedicated to egalitarian values.

It is well-known that firebrands become reactionaries and heresies turn orthodox with the passage of time. But Acharyaji, because of his utter sincerity and honesty, remained free from this deterioration.

Gandhiji, more than anybody else, recognized Acharyaji's rare integrity and offered him, at the dawn of Indian Independence, the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. Neither within the party nor in the echelons of Government did power attract Acharyaji. No office in India was beyond Acharyaji's reach. Acharyaji was beyond the reach of all offices. And even as a Member of Parliament, fundamental norms and codes of conduct were of greater importance for him than membership. It is worth recalling that Acharyaji and his socialist colleagues in the U.P. Legislature on starting the Socialist Party gave up their seats en bloc because they had earlier been elected on Congress tickets. Here was an example of the highest traditions of parliamentary democracy which alas has to be enforced today through the Anti-defection Law.

In his renunciatory nature, Acharyaji reminded his contemporaries of yet another ennobling influence on his life, namely, the influence of the Sakyamuni Gautama Buddha. Among the many books authored by Acharyaji is his famous work *Buddha Dharma Darshana*. Acharyaji had the mind of a true Marxist, the conscience of a true Gandhian and the heart of a true Buddhist.

We must also recall to our minds today the vast unfinished tasks of our liberation struggle. Political freedom has been with us for forty years now. But economic and political power, in the real sense, is yet to accrue to the people at large. Economic disparities, privilege and exploitation cry for eradication. Acharyaji would have been the first to tell us today that without achieving these goals, the freedom struggle remains unfinished.

And so, as we install today in the nation's capital the statue of Acharya Narendra Dev, let us do more than pay our homage to that Rishi who was also a Revolutionary. Let us rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the struggle and strive towards the establishment of an egalitarian and humane order in India.

May we all draw from Acharyaji's life an inspiration to become men and women of compassion, of courage and above all of integrity.

G.S. Pathak

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to visit the historic precincts of the Allahabad High Court to unveil the portrait of one of the noblest sons of India, the late Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak. I would like to extend my thanks to Mr Justice Jeevana Reddy, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court and his predecessors who originally extended this invitation to me, for giving me an opportunity to do so.

Purity and nobility of character marked Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak's life. He maintained the highest standards of integrity in both his personal and professional transactions. He was, in other words, a complete man who lived a life that was fully integrated in its inner and outer dimensions.

As all those who came in contact with Sri Pathak would testify, integrity was his watchword and he sought to maintain the highest ethical standards in his individual, professional and public life.

Sri G.S. Pathak's father was a humble employee of the North-Western Railway's accounts department. Gopal Swarupji, therefore, had very modest beginnings. Because of the financial circumstances of the family, he was urged by his father to set up a small business immediately after finishing High School. But young Gopal Swarup was disinclined to do so. He had rendered a very good account of himself and had achieved excellence at school. Keen to pursue further studies, Gopal Swarupji thereupon entered the Government College at Lahore on a scholarship. While at college, he continued to perform brilliantly and was clearly cut out for a promising career in the Sciences. But destiny had other plans. While at Lahore, he had occasion to see and be influenced by the great revolutionary, Har Dayal and by the renowned religious personalities, Sadhu Vaswami and Swami Ram Tirth. Attending their lectures, he imbibed strong nationalist sentiments from them. Nationalist and spiritual influences, therefore, began to work on Gopal Swarupji from his student days.

Young Gopal Swarup completed his LL.B. in Agra and after finishing his legal studies, set up practice at the District Courts in Bareilly. Legal practice then, as now, was a lucrative avenue for talented people. But Sri Pathak was not one to accord lucre any place in his life.

He submitted himself to a very strict regime of work for work's sake. Studying his briefs painstakingly he became very soon to be respected as a lawyer who had mastered case law and who had all relevant rulings on his finger tips. Even the Munsif or Sub-judge, it is said, used to consult Sri Pathak on case law and on rulings. It was Sri Pathak's successful advocacy in the famous Pilibhit Zamindari case against the distinguished Allahabad lawyer, Iqbal Ahmed, that took Sri Pathak's reputation beyond Bareilly to Allahabad.

Sri Pathak shifted his practice to Allahabad in 1928 and earned his first fee of Rs. 30 in a habeas corpus case. It is significant that Sri Pathak used the money to purchase a copy of Mayne's Hindu Law in what was, virtually, an offering to Saraswati.

Joining the Chambers of the distinguished senior lawyer in Allahabad, Shri Uma Shankar Bajpai, Sri Pathak came to the notice of stalwarts like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru.

Thoroughness and hard work characterized Sri Pathak's work in Allahabad, and it used to be said that there was not a word in the brief which Sri Pathak did not read, imbibe and use with telling effect. Sri Pathak soon attracted the attention of European Judges, but his main interest lay in work, not in socializing. This left him with a lot of spare time which he devoted assiduously to his practice.

In 1945, Sri Pathak was offered a judgeship by Justice Iqbal Ahmed who had opposed him in Bareilly and had now become Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. Sri Pathak, with his soaring practice, was in two minds and so he preferred to start as an Acting Judge with a six months' appointment which left him free either to revert to the Bar or continue on the Bench. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote to Sri Pathak complimenting him on having earned the Blue Riband of the profession but, at the same time, urged him to decline the acting judgeship since in Sir Tej Bahadur's view, Sri Pathak's legal talent and integrity were needed at the Bar. But Sri Pathak had given his word and so he went ahead and joined the Bench, sitting with Sir Henry Braund. At the end of the six months period, Sri Pathak came back to the Bar, thereby respecting the advice given to him by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Needless to say, his practice soared once again.

After the setting up of the interim Cabinet of the Government of India, our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru requested Sri Pathak at Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's instance, to join the Indian Delegation to the United Nations led by Smt Vijayalakshmi Pandit. It is not widely known that while discussing this offer Jawaharlalji told Sri Pathak that he would be incurring a monetary loss by joining this delegation since the Government would not be paying him at the scale he was earning in Allahabad. Sri Pathak informed Jawaharlalji that serving on the Indian Delegation at the UN was a national cause and that he would in fact not charge anything at all. It was the beginning of his long association with Jawaharlal Nehru.

At the UN where he went seven times as a member of our Delegation between 1946 and 1959, Sri Pathak was the representative of India in the Legal Committee and played a significant role in making out India's case on the question of apartheid in South Africa. Thereafter, Jawaharlalji kept consulting Sri Pathak at frequent intervals on international law and issues. Sri Pathak was, in fact, asked to come to New Delhi so often, that it was finally decided that he should become a Member of the Rajya Sabha so as to be readily available for consultations.

I had the privilege of coming to know Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak since the mid fifties, when we were both members of the Indian Delegation to the

United Nations. We worked together in that forum for several years and became good friends ever since. I can never forget Sri Pathak's invaluable contribution to the work of the Indian Delegation to the UN. He brought to bear on his work, a mastery of facts and law, an incisive mind, felicitous presentation and a dignified bearing. His mastery of international law and conventions was a great asset to him in the sometimes acrimonious debates in the UN. He was held in high esteem not only by the members of the Indian Delegation but by the entire UN community. Jawaharlal Nehru sent him as his special envoy to several capitals whenever it was necessary to gather international support for India's point of view.

As a lawyer, Sri Pathak had certain clear-cut principles. He would, for instance, never appear without a junior. He would also ensure that before any payments were made to him the clients had paid the junior. Sri Pathak would accept briefs in one court only and not move from court to court because it was his belief that whenever his case came up, he should be personally present in the court.

Professional discipline was a matter of high priority for him and if for any reason he had to leave a case half finished in order to attend Parliament or to go to the United Nations, he would return the fees for the entire case. As his colleagues and the hundreds of his clients knew, Sri Pathak was very keen on maintaining standards regardless of the status of the client or the cause. He used to keep a meticulous account of fees received when he was a lawyer in Allahabad, so that his income tax returns were complete and unimpeachable.

Whenever Sri Pathak took up a case, he would prepare the brief himself. He believed that when presenting a case the lawyer must regard himself, first and foremost, as an officer of the court assisting the Bench. Sri Pathak would, therefore, read both sides of the case so as to be able to answer any question that the court may choose to ask.

Sri Pathak also believed that the counsel who opens the case must lay all the facts before the court and must assist the court to understand them irrespective of who wins or loses the case. Sri Pathak believed that his duty was to the court and only thereafter, to the client. He would read up the law extensively and be up to date. He took special care to study the Law Reports of the British, American, Australian and Canadian Courts. Not surprisingly, Jawaharlalji wanted Sri Pathak to become Attorney-General of India. But other more important international work assigned to him by the Prime Minister stood in the way of his accepting the leadership of the Bar.

Along with the late V.K. Krishna Menon, Sri Pathak was instrumental in setting up the Indian Society for International Law in 1959. This initiative was significant. It showed that India's fraternity of lawyers and jurists regarded the law as a flower of the cultivated universal intellect which must be in step with the evolution of the man in the comity of nation States.

I must express my personal gratification over the fact that Sri Pathak's distinguished son, Sri R.S. Pathak, who rose to the highest office of the Chief Justice of India and now adorns the International Court of Justice at The

Hague, has continued his father's interest in the Indian Society for International Law.

Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak served in Smt Indira Gandhi's Government as Law Minister. But politics was not Sri Pathak's natural field. He longed to go back to the Bar and when, in 1967, Sri Pathak found that he did not have a place in the newly formed Cabinet he appeared in the courts the very next day.

Public life, however, did not leave him alone and he was asked to become Governor of Karnataka a little later the same year. In 1969, Sri Pathak moved to the Centre as Vice-President of India.

As Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Sri Pathak conducted himself with great dignity and enjoyed the confidence of all sections of the House. His credibility was never questioned while his impartiality and foresight were respected by all. Welcoming him in the Chair, the irrepressible Bhupesh Gupta said:

"Mr Chairman, I look forward to your indulgence sometimes, your affection sometimes, your admonition sometimes, your rebuke sometimes, but always I shall expect of you that in the crucible of the fight for democracy against reaction you are on the side of democracy and against reaction."

In his reply to the welcome, Sri Pathak said:

"Parliament occupies the centre of our constitutional structure. It is the most powerful instrument for securing to our people, who are sovereign, justice, economic and social, and for making political progress. It is through Parliament that peaceful change is ensured. Parliament is the protector of the citizens' rights and citizens' freedom in the land.

In 1974, on the completion of his tenure, Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak left public life for the last time. In retirement he turned to extensive study. The relationship of India's spiritual teachings with modern science was a subject which held special fascination for him.

Fluent in English and in Hindi, he was particularly interested in Sanskrit. Right action as enunciated by Buddha and *karma yoga* as enunciated in the *Bhagavad Gita* were his life's principles.

Sri Pathak was totally secular in his outlook. Creed and caste considerations never entered his calculations. His friends and associates belonged to the various religions and communities of India.

Sri Pathak had a very charitable disposition. The house which he built in this city of Allahabad, he willed to the Bar Council of Uttar Pradesh at a very nominal cost. Persons of the character and calibre of Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak come but rarely in our midst.

Today, as we honour the memory of this distinguished lawyer and jurist, I would like to leave a thought with junior brothers and sisters of the Bar. With the abandonment of apprenticeship for entering the profession of law, you

are practically in an uncharted voyage. It would, therefore, be necessary for you to attach yourself to the office of a senior and learn the art of preparation and presentation of cases. I would invite you to imbibe the spirit of Hoffman's rule: "Law is a deep science. Its boundaries like space seem to recede as we advance. And though there may be as much of certainty in it as in any other science, it is said we should be modest in our opinions and ever willing to be further instructed."

Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak was a man with an inner and outer lustre. As anyone who had seen him knew, he had a shining countenance. This was because of his *shuddha chittham*. To him can be applied the adjectives from the *Sri Venkatesa Suprabhatam*:

"*Sumukham, Suhridam, Sulabham, Sukhajam.*"

(Of good countenance, of good heart,
of easy access and bestowing happiness).

With these words, I have great pleasure in unveiling the portrait of Sri Gopal Swarup Pathak.

H.N. Bahuguna

IT IS WITH great happiness that I have accepted the invitation of the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and of the 'H.N. Bahuguna Statue Installation Committee' to unveil the statue of my old and valued friend, the late Hemavati Nandan Bahuguna. I would like to convey my thanks to them and, in particular, to Smt Kamala Bahuguna and to Shri Narayan Dutt Tiwari for giving me this opportunity.

My mind goes back, today, to the 1950s when I first came in contact with Shri Bahuguna. He was then Parliamentary Secretary in the Uttar Pradesh Government. Our common interest in the labour movement drew us together. His affable personality and qualities of head and heart endeared him to me instantly and we remained good friends ever thereafter. Our roads in public life were not necessarily the same. In fact, they diverged quite often. But our affection for each other never suffered the slightest diminution.

Shri Bahuguna was an alert, intelligent and frank person. He struck anyone, even at a casual meeting, as a person with an original and interesting viewpoint on most matters. Quick-witted, articulate and effervescent, his eyes had a twinkle in them. His face would light up, ever so often, in a disarming smile.

Even those who did not always agree with Shri Bahuguna, admired his

frankness of purpose and his commitment to values in public life, notably, the values of socialism and secularism: the twin lodestars of the Nehru era which have lost none of their relevance with the passage of time.

Shri Bahuguna began his public career very early. The Quit India Movement which was the first baptism for many a stalwart, drew Shri Bahuguna into its fold. Shri Bahuguna had the special distinction of carrying a price of Rs. 5,000 on his head at that time. In 1943, he was imprisoned and served different terms in the prisons of Delhi and UP between 1943 and 1945.

Shri Bahuguna had a very special knack of making friends and inspiring loyalty. He also won the trust and confidence of senior leaders. The reason for this is not far to seek. Shri Bahuguna was, essentially, a person who knew his mind and who spoke his mind without fear or favour.

Even in his youth, he was known as a person who stood for certain definite values which, at the ideological level, inspired the Congress Socialist Party and which, at the administrative level, marked the pioneering Congress ministries. It was given to Shri Bahuguna to receive guiding encouragement from that outstanding patriot and administrator, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. Truly has it been said of Pantji that whatever he touched, turned to gold. This was particularly true of the promising human material which came to Pantji's notice.

Whether it was Lal Bahadur Shastri or Chandra Bhan Gupta, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai or H.N. Bahuguna, all of them seemed to blossom forth in association with Jawaharlalji and Pantji.

Shri Bahuguna was elected to the U.P. Legislative Assembly without any break from 1952 to 1967. This was a tribute as much to Shri Bahuguna's innate qualities and popularity as to his singular identification with the masses. Remaining in touch with people and retaining their affection and confidence was a special talent of Shri Bahuguna. In this Shri Bahuguna benefited from his personal association with two other very popular and patriotic sons of India, Chandra Bhan Gupta and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

Proximity to power and the exercise of power never distanced Shri Bahuguna from the people. Howsoever lofty his public office, Shri Bahuguna kept his feet firmly on the ground, thereby ensuring that he remained informed about the hopes and aspirations of the people, their trials and tribulations.

As you are aware, Shri Bahuguna held different offices in Uttar Pradesh from 1957 to 1967. During this period he came to be acknowledged as an efficient administrator but even more so as a sensitive leader.

There was something of a risk taker in Shri Bahuguna. Shri Bahuguna did not mind risking the displeasure of his own colleagues and associates. He did not even mind risking public criticism and unpopularity. A notable example of this is provided by Shri Bahuguna's incurring the wrath of some party leaders when he provided relief to teachers and bonus to electricity personnel in the State Government against the declared policy of his party at that time.

In 1971, after his memorable victory in the Lok Sabha election from

Allahabad, he was made Communications Minister, a portfolio which had earlier been held with enormous success by his friend, the late Kidwai Saheb. As Union Communications Minister, Shri Bahuguna effected improvements in the telephone system and simultaneously worked out long-standing labour disputes in the Department to the satisfaction of those concerned.

In 1973, Bahugunaji became Chief Minister of UP. As Chief Minister, it was his endeavour to combat rural backwardness through a judicious combination of agricultural development, industrialization and the spread of education. His selfless work, his sincerity and his steadfast espousal of socialist ideals consolidated Shri Bahuguna's all-India stature, even though his jurisdiction at that time was the State of Uttar Pradesh. Extremely popular with the people at large, Shri Bahuguna was also greatly respected by the officers and staff he worked with. His informality, accessibility and consideration for those working under him became legendary. At the same time nobody could take advantage of Shri Bahuguna's accessibility. He was a shrewd judge of men and set exacting standards for himself and for those working with them.

His speed at disposing official papers was well-known. The word 'inertia' did not exist in his dictionary. Shri Bahuguna was, in a sense, a man in hurry. He was impatient for change, for social justice.

While Shri Bahuguna was a hard-working and dedicated socialist, he was never doctrinaire. He combined pragmatism with idealism and never lost sight of the human dimension.

Shri Bahuguna's stewardship of the State Government in Uttar Pradesh will always be remembered for his anxiety to deliver the goods to the people of the State. Shri Bahuguna moved to the Centre again in 1977. But whether in the State or in the Centre, in office or out of office, Shri Bahuguna always remained in centre-stage. His debating skills, whether in Hindi, Urdu or in English were devastating and his opponents reeled under his sledge-hammer blows. He could expose the faults and foibles of politicians in Government with great effect.

Shri Bahuguna firmly believed that communal harmony was a precondition for peace and prosperity in a pluralistic society like ours. Even as Rafi Saheb cultivated the Hindus and other minorities, Shri Bahuguna cultivated the Muslim community and minorities. Few politicians could equal Shri Bahuguna in the confidence and trust he gained among all sects, creeds and religions. It is seldom realized that over 1/8th of the population in India professes Islam and lives shoulder to shoulder in villages, urban and metropolitan areas with those of other faiths. Life had gone on peaceably among them for centuries until the British for their own self-preservation inducted the communal virus in pursuit of their policy of divide and rule. India needs to restore that harmony among all our fellow-countrymen if all of us have to achieve progress. Leaders like Shri Bahuguna realized it and strove hard to win the confidence of minorities.

Our country is a mosaic of different cultures but within them there pervades a spirit which represents the Indian mind, the Indian heart. It is

tragic that the ogres of communalism, secessionism and violence are gaining strength today. In the country of Buddha, Kabir, Nanak and Mahatma Gandhi, who preached the principles of tolerance and generosity, there can be no room for hatred and animosity.

I would like to express the hope and confidence that this statue will inspire the present and future generations to dedicate themselves to the ideals of a secular and egalitarian India, and thereby make the freedom of India true and meaningful.

I have great pleasure in unveiling the statue of Shri Bahuguna, a sacred memory in the sacred town of Allahabad.

Aruna Asaf Ali

ARUNA ASAF ALI is a living legend. Fortunate are we, her contemporaries, and witnesses to her remarkable life.

Revolution's daughter, she has been mother to hope: Hope in the future of India as an inclusive and egalitarian civilization that plays its part in the evolution of mankind.

It was in 1930 that young Aruna plunged into the salt satyagraha. She was barely twenty then. But such was the strength of her personality even then that her fame travelled far and wide. She came to be cherished and respected in countless Indian homes as a person who had given up—without a moment's hesitation—the comfort and security of her parental home in favour of a life of sacrifice. She came to be known too as one who had defied tradition by marrying outside the religion of her family. Here were *tyaaga* and *kraanti* at their classical best. *Tyaaga* and *kraanti*—sacrifice and revolution are the stuff of which the finest specimens of humanity are made. Be they Jeanne d'Arc of France, or Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi.

Like the heroic persons mentioned, Aruna seemed to know her way instinctively. She trod the ground of revolution fearlessly and with supreme confidence. Her footsteps had a delicate, almost elfin, quality about them, but what giant strides they marked!

As Aruna Asaf Ali moved barely, but with a disarming smile, into prison cells in 1930 (for sedition), 1932 (for participating in the satyagraha movement) and yet again in 1941 (for her part in individual satyagraha), she gave heart and hope to the younger generation of India's freedom fighters. Everyone admired her. But what is important, thousands sought to emulate

her. There was an Aruna way of thinking and of doing things. Bold but not rash, instructive but not impetuous, fearless, selfless and utterly devoted. Some of us noticed how her respect for Gandhiji did not ossify into blind adherence and how her admiration for Jawaharlal Nehru never prevented her from taking her own stand on several issues. Aruna Asaf Ali became a synonym for enlightened service to the cause of India's greatness. But above all else, she became an example of the truly emancipated Indian woman.

By the time India heard the call of 'Do or Die' in the Quit India Movement, Aruna Asaf Ali had become a veritable legend. Her growing identification with the socialist tenet gave her personality an added and altogether special dimension. She conveyed to her generation the vital message that political freedom was not an end but a means towards achieving freedom from exploitation and want. That Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji respected her convictions bespoke faith in her sincerity. Arunaji was unique in the trust she received from the Father of our Nation and other senior leaders in the Indian National Congress on the one hand, and the admiration she commanded from the younger generation of freedom fighters. She consequently served as a link between the 'old guard' and the younger revolutionaries of the freedom struggle, interpreting one to the other and bringing them closer to each other.

Even at this early stage, Arunaji developed an international perspective. Like Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan, she was able to see events in India against the backdrop of world trends. She was farsighted enough to view World War II as a struggle by humanity for human rights and fundamental freedoms. She foresaw that colonialism and imperialism would tumble down at the end of the War.

After Gandhiji and other leaders had been arrested on August 8-9, 1942, destiny conferred on Arunaji the singular distinction of going to the 'illegal meeting' at Bombay's Gowalia Tank. How on August 9, she mounted the rostrum, broke the news of the arrest of the Congress leadership and hoisted the tricolour to the strains of 'Vande Maataram' sung by the vast assemblage, is all now part of history. That stirring sequence and her subsequent disappearance into the 'underground' in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi to wage an epic resistance, constitute a never-to-be-forgotten chapter of our struggle for emancipation. Aruna Asaf Ali like Jayaprakash Narayan, became a household name during the Quit India struggle for her work from the underground. The rank and file of the movement hungered for news of their daring exploits and their stirring messages.

Then as now, Arunaji was frail as a bird. And, quite naturally, the nation was anxious for her health. Gandhiji spoke for the whole country when he wrote to Arunaji on 9 June 1944:

"I have been filled with admiration for your courage and heroism. I have sent you messages that you must not die underground. You are reduced to a skeleton. Do come out and surrender yourself and win the prize offered for your arrest. Reserve the prize money for the Harijan cause."

But 'surrender' was not a word that occurred in Arunaji's dictionary. She

continued her struggle undaunted. Jawaharlalji, after his own release the following year, sent a message of greetings to those who were battling from the underground. He said:

“Among them it is only in the fitness of things that I must take the name of one of India’s brave women, Aruna Asaf Ali. If my voice can reach her, I want to send her my love and esteem. I want to tell her that whatever she has done shall not be wasted and will bear fruit.”

Independence saw her distinguished husband, Asaf Ali Saheb, being appointed India’s Ambassador to the USA and later, Governor of Orissa. But life under chandeliers held no attraction for Arunaji. Mindful as she was of her duties as his official hostess in the various diplomatic and gubernatorial functions, her heart was reserved for the working classes of India—and indeed of the world. Her great contributions and her egalitarian commitments made the Socialist Party and the Communist Party of India offer her senior positions. Arunaji shared their identification with the working classes and was an asset to those organisations. But not having hesitated earlier to differ from Gandhiji himself, she spoke her mind when differences arose between her and the CPI over certain historical interpretations. She soon parted company with that organisation but retained the respect of the CPI’s leaders and cadres. How could it be otherwise?

Arunaji is a person of transparent sincerity. Her concern for the disadvantaged springs from her heart. A sense of justice is with her a second nature. It is not a dogma. Equality is a matter of faith with her, not a slogan. The ‘working classes’ are individuals for her—individual men and women—not a concept. Be they in the gullies off Chandni Chowk (where she served as Delhi’s first Mayor for two terms) or in the villages of Punjab (where she has organized pioneering *jathas* for peace) the deprived and the exploited are her natural priority. She thinks and feels for them spontaneously, though unsentimentally. Hers is an involvement with the poor that can never degenerate into condescension or patronizing.

For decades now, she has regarded herself and her time as being committed to certain values and causes. These are essentially the values of socialism, secularism and democracy. In other words, she has committed herself to the goals for which our struggle and Independence was the means. Definitionally, therefore, there can be no arrivals for Arunaji. There is only journeying. But, on that great journey, she has always been a guide and inspirer. Over the many decades that we have been acquainted, I have never known Arunaji to be a burden on anyone, to speak even once with resentment about anyone, or to harbour ill will towards any single person. Criticism, yes. Complaint, never. She has often expressed disappointment, even disillusionment, over people and events but never with rancour. Disagreements, on policy and principles never degenerate with Arunaji into acrimony. To be sure, she is a firebrand. But her fire is laser-like. It reaches and incinerates the target but leaves no scar, no burn. Arunaji is the soul of courtesy. In our times when offence is so readily given and taken, when the protocols of political

behaviour are observed in the breach, when loyalty has become a marketable commodity, what a refreshing contrast Arunaji provides!

Very few know that she is, besides, one of the great givers of our time. Of personal possessions she has virtually none. If she receives gifts, she promptly gives them away to others, saying, "Where do I have the space to keep them?" thereby making the person to whom she is handing over the gift feel that it is he who is doing her a favour by receiving it! Dressed in plain white khadi, she has managed the virtually impossible feat of being simple without being sanctimonious about it.

A Gandhian but no faddist, a socialist but never doctrinaire, a nationalist but without a trace of jingoism, an activist but never a 'loudspeaker' of shibboleths, Arunaji looks at situations and events from the viewpoint of human values. It is in her utter humanism that Arunaji's real self resides.

In running the A.V. Baliga Foundation and the 'Link-Patriot' news journals, Arunaji has also shown herself to be a deft administrator. And to the delight of the world of scholarship, she has shown through her recent book, *Private Face of A Public Person* (a study of Jawaharlal Nehru) the attributes of a keen observer and analyser of events. Her insights and interpretations in that book are revealing, making it a work of abiding value. The Maulana Azad Memorial Lecture delivered by her last year was a remarkable document, spanning decades in its sweep and pointing out the problems and prospects of denominational unity in India.

Great as Arunaji's services to India are, it is as a world citizen that history will finally remember Aruna Asaf Ali. Her 'draw' towards Soviet Russia and the Eastern European countries has, for decades, made those societies treat her as an honorary citizen of their countries. Likewise, she has long empathized with the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, the countries of Africa and Latin America. Arunaji has an astounding knowledge of the cultures of these various lands and, more significantly, of the aspirations of their peoples. I have seen, for instance, the Gorbachevs and Chairman Arafat, not to mention all the numerous diplomats based in Delhi, giving her the highest regard and respect.

It is with the greatest pleasure that I join Arunaji's large and ever-growing circle of friends and admirers in wishing her many more years—not for her sake but ours.

Sankaradeva

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I have accepted the invitation of my friend, Sri Prafulla Mohanta, the Chief Minister of Assam, to participate in the Sreemanta Sankaradeva Awards function. I would like to convey my thanks to him and to the Government of Assam for giving me another opportunity to be amidst the talented sons and daughters of Assam.

I was here in 1988 to give the first set of awards named after Mahapurusha Sankaradeva. I am glad the scheme of awards which started with distinguished recipients such as Sri Kirtinath Hazarika, Dr Bhupen Hazarika, Sri Satyajit Ray and Dr Maheshwar Neog has now taken firm root in the cultural consciousness of the people of Assam and beyond. The award is recognized today as Assam's tribute to the continuing renewal of India's composite culture and civilization; a tribute to what may be called India's 'Bharatiyam'. What lends lustre to the awards is, of course, the fact that the scheme has been named after one of the immortal sons of India, Mahapurusha Sankaradeva.

A reservoir of the most sublime thought, music and literature, Sankaradeva represented our civilization at its best and noblest. His extraordinary presence has been described by his dearest follower, Madhavadeva in the following words:

“Handsome to look at, his whole physique is white and resplendent like the sun. His sight, pleasing to people in assemblies, can destroy sins. He is handsome without the aid of any ornaments, grave and majestic, and wise. His lotus-like eyes are large and extremely charming; and his complexion is like the light of the moon. His gait looks like the lovely pace of an elephant. His voice is deep like thunder.”

That description of Mahapurusha Sankaradeva is strongly reminiscent of Swami Vivekananda. The resemblance, however, goes beyond physique. Both of them performed roles that were markedly similar. They gave hope to the despondent, faith to the woebegone and uplifted society from the morass of decay.

As you are all aware, Mahapurusha Sankaradeva lived at a time when India was passing through a phase of cultural decline. Indeed, the night was dark for our arts, our philosophy and for religion. Divisions and conflicts assailed our society. Social and economic cleavages left deep scars on our psyche.

Dawn, however, occurs when the sky is the darkest. The *Gita* has said that the Lord manifests himself whenever there is a decline in Dharma and it becomes necessary to protect the virtuous and punish the vicious. That is exactly what transpired in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. The then

prevailing Shakta cult, with its emphasis on ritual, had rigidified faith and accentuated differences.

But, in a vindication of the *Gitacharya's* saying, the rescue and regeneration of the decaying society came through the upsurge of the Bhakti Movement. Mahaprabhu Chaitanya rose in neighbouring Bengal. A little before Chaitanya, there appeared Kabir, near Varanasi. Guru Nanak, born near Lahore, founded the great Sikh religion, and Sant Tulsi Das, born near Allahabad, left an indelible mark on the Vaishnavas of India through his *Rama charita manas*. At about the same time, Sant Tukaram arose in Maharashtra, electrifying that part of the country by his devotion to Sri Krishna in the form of Vithoba and Pandurang. And here, in Kamrup, Mahapurusha Sankaradeva emerged, effulgent like the morning sun rising over the oceanic Brahmaputra.

Mahapurusha Sankaradeva was verily a light unto the darkness of his times. He was a balm unto the wounds and hurts of our society; an *aushadha* for the socio-cultural debility then prevailing. Rigidities thawed at his touch, divisions closed, animosities evaporated.

Sankaradeva exuded the same large-heartedness which had marked Ramanand and Chaitanya. People of all classes gained admittance to his heart. Naga and Mikir tribals, as also members of the Islamic faith joined him. And, most significantly, in Sankaradeva's scheme of things, a higher caste person could seek knowledge from and become the disciple of an enlightened being, even if the latter was of the lowest caste.

Again like Chaitanya, Sankaradeva travelled extensively, rendering his soulful *kirtanas* saturated in *bhakti rasa*. He was able to visit all the *sthalas* associated with Sri Krishna and on one such journey he met Chaitanya. He was drawn to his great contemporary, Kabir and reverentially visited his grave.

Sankaradeva preached that all men were born equal, were one before God and were bound to each other and to the Creator. Ritualistic sophistry on the one hand, and mind-transcending scholarship on the other had left the common people confused and puzzled. Sankaradeva told his followers that they could tread the path of religion very simply but very honestly and efficaciously, through *bhakti* or devotion. In one of his beautiful songs, Sankaradeva has said:

“The *pandita* readeth the *sastras*,
but the *bhakta* realiseth its essence,
just as water floateth the lotus,
but the black-bee sucketh its honey.
Where there is *bhakti*, there is salvation:
the *bhakta* alone knoweth this truth.”

Sankaradeva said learning was meant to confer wisdom, not status; nurture love, not pride. And personal privations through fasting or other means of rigorous self-mortification were not necessary to attain an equation with the Divine. Not surprisingly, a classless and casteless band of devotees emerged

around Sankaradeva, of whom Madhavadeva and Bhattadeva achieved great renown.

If Sankaradeva had a message for the common folk, he also had an appeal for the learned. Sankaradeva's commentaries on the *Bhaagavata* and *Ramayana* and his memorable compilation called the *Kirtana Ghosha* have secured for him a permanent place among the great saint-scholars of India.

But Mahapurusha Sankaradeva's role was not confined to matters of the spirit alone. By addressing himself to the crying social needs of his time, Sankaradeva became one of the harbingers of the Indian renaissance. This renaissance was to flower, in due course, into the major politico-cultural awakening that was to be witnessed in the coming centuries. The people were in a sense woken from stupor by Sankaradeva and made aware of their potential. But for the groundwork done by Sankaradeva, this part of Assam would not have been able to demonstrate the spectacular affirmation of unity and nationalist pride which Assam's Diwan, Maniram Dutta spelt out, in his memorable message to the British Government in 1853: "In the Shastras it is written, that rulers ought to practise righteousness and govern their subjects with justice while studying their welfare. These are not now done, but the very contrary; and for such sins and negligences, due rewards will be meted out even in a frontier state."

The First War of Independence was about to be waged at that time. Maniram demanded the restoration of the former native administration. The appeal, as you all know, was turned down. Maniram resolved to throw in his lot with the rebels. The British did a man-hunt of the patriots. Maniram and Piali Barua were tried and hanged together on 26 February 1858. Their martyrdom will ever be recorded in the history of India in letters of gold.

Assam reflects our composite culture. If its shrines at Kamakhya, Umananda and Navagraha are renowned amongst the Hindus, the Buddhist temple at Hajo and the mosque Poa Mecca reflect the great mosaic of our pluralist heritage.

The Sankaradeva Awards instituted by the Government of Assam are, therefore, an emblem of Assam's contribution to the multilingual and multireligious heritage of ours.

The recipient of today's award, Dr Kapila Vatsyayan, is a person who has sought throughout her life and work to understand and interpret the unifying principles of our cultural plurality. A dancer, scholar and administrator of distinction, she richly deserves the honour being done to her today. Like the late Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay and the late Rukmini Devi Arundale both of whom were like guardian spirits to her—Kapilaji belongs to no single part of India but the whole of it. The chief disciple of traditional Gurus such as Guru Amobi Singh in Manipuri and Guru Achan Maharaj in Kathak, she has rendered performances of classical dance in India and abroad. The first Ph.D. student in Indology from the Banaras Hindu University, her writing has been imbued with an awareness of the unity of our classicism.

A bridge maker between the North and the South, the East and the West, she has been responsible for introducing artistes like Balasaraswati, Shanta

Rao, and Raman Kutty to the North; and Birju Maharaj, Mahabir Singh and Narendra Singh to the South. Author of over 15 books, she is today considered the leading authority on the interrelationship of the Indian arts. Her works have been regarded as path-finders and conceptual models for interdisciplinary and cross-cultural research. Kapilaji's multidisciplinary pursuits and skills have, more recently, culminated in the plan of the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts—an institute that endeavours to collect, analyse and synthesize the different art forms of India and their complementarity and interdependence.

As one who has observed Kapilaji's devotion to art and culture and her steadfast pursuit of values modestly and unobtrusively, I feel immense pleasure in presenting today's Sankaradeva Award to her. I would like to take this opportunity to offer her my blessings for many more years of service to art in its highest form—the form which recreates Creation, seeking not fame but fulfilment.

Friends, at the beginning of my observations, I spoke of dawn coming when the sky is at its darkest. We have been passing through a period of trial for our society. Animosities have surfaced, old divisions of creed and caste, have sought to reappear in peoples' thoughts, words and actions. Our cherished pluralism is under threat by denominational antagonism. It would, however, be wrong for us, in this day and age, to wait for saints and sages to descend among us to redeem our society from its present trial. Sagacity must inform our thoughts and actions. We who have seen the tapestry of Indian life being woven by colourful strand, must not allow anyone to damage it. We, as Indians, must decide to resist any attempts at dividing our society in the name of religion, language or caste. Let us rededicate ourselves to the fostering of the unity of India's communities. Let us make it clear to those who think and talk of denominations, forgetting the whole, that they are forsaking the great tradition of our saints and sages whose message is immortal. The people of India as a whole have never accepted any form of narrow bigotry as true religion or true culture. Let us resolve to preserve for posterity the ancient heritage of India and its composite culture.

And let us do so in the sacred name of Mahapurusha Sankaradeva.

Dr Guruswami Mudaliar

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I join this gathering to honour the memory of one of India's noblest men.

Dr Guruswami Mudaliar devoted every fibre of his being to serving fellow human beings. To honour such a selfless being is a privilege. I would, therefore, like to thank Dr Sundaravadanam and others of the Celebrations Committee for giving me this opportunity to perform the pleasant and satisfying task of unveiling Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's portrait.

I would like to felicitate the GMTTV Higher Secondary School and the Celebrations Committee for their initiative in organizing this function to honour the memory of Dr Guruswami Mudaliar. Among his several interests, concerns and accomplishments, Dr Guruswami Mudaliar was devoted to education and served for several decades as President of the School Committee. In honouring the memory of its benefactor the School has honoured itself.

Almost everybody in this hall must have either personally received Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's compassion and consideration or heard of it from some other direct recipient.

There is that untranslatable Tamil word: *Kairasi*—the lucky hand. If ever a doctor had *Kairasi* Dr Guruswami Mudaliar had it—and in abundance.

As you are aware, beneath Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's statue at the entrance of the Madras Medical College is engraved the motto "Service Before Self". Dr Guruswami Mudaliar was a living example of this motto. Helping fellow human beings was not his policy of philosophy; it was not even his second nature. Guruswami Mudaliar was synonymous with human sympathy. For generations of residents of Madras, he was a 'miracle doctor'. At his touch ailments vanished. Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's incredible diagnostic skills were legendary. At the same time, his human sympathies were also a byword. Dr Guruswami Mudaliar gave society a new concept of skills-in-service which can perhaps be summed up in the epithet 'Genius Has a Duty'. Genius is what God gave him. Duty is what he gave God in return. And we, the contemporaries of Dr Guruswami Mudaliar, were the beneficiaries of this creative interaction.

The Chief Minister and other speakers preceding me have dwelt on Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's many-splendoured personality. It is unnecessary for me to 'paint the lily or gild refined gold'. But what I would like to stress is that Dr Guruswami Mudaliar has left behind not only a reputation but also an example. He studied medicine, as you all know, at the Madras Medical College. It is important to note that he did so as a scholarship student. A scholarship or stipend tends to be regarded as a dole but that was not the case with Dr Guruswami Mudaliar. He regarded it as a challenge and a call to prove himself. He did so most worthily in the final degree examination which he cleared with flying colours, winning a gold medal for surgery.

As one who belongs to Thanjavur district and knowing that the Chief Minister does too, I would like to mention the fact that Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's early assignment was in the town of Thanjavur. He was posted there as surgeon in the distinguished company of that other medical genius, Dr Rangachari. Dr Guruswami Mudaliar and Dr Rangachari coming together thus formed a veritable confluence of talent, depth, understanding and

energy. Thereafter, Dr Guruswami Mudaliar moved to Madras where his association with the General Hospital and the Madras Medical College acquired the dimensions of a professional saga.

Medicine was Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's chosen line but his acumen for correct diagnosis seemed to flow not from book knowledge but from an intuitive insight into the human anatomy. Numerous—in fact, innumerable—patients in disease and distress came to Dr Guruswami Mudaliar. They had immense faith in his skills and abilities. His very presence inspired confidence in the patients.

The current medical ethos is to refer the patients to a number of tests by experts before attempting to treat them. This has become necessary in western countries where litigation against doctors for wrong diagnosis or treatment are assuming menacing proportions. But Dr Mudaliar hardly ever referred his patients to costly tests or expert assessment. He would form his judgment on the recital of the symptoms by the patient and even before the patient concluded, he would hand over a relatively cheap prescription. That sometimes used to disappoint well-to-do patients who measured the value of medicine by the cost thereof. The story goes that one such patient told Dr Mudaliar that he could afford costly medicines but the doctor who was well-known for his reticence merely smiled and said, “try this”. Dr Guruswami Mudaliar belonged to the species of General Practitioners—one which is becoming rarer day by day. His approach was holistic and his knowledge was comprehensive. Dr Guruswami Mudaliar illustrated the French aphorism: “The doctor's duty is to cure sometimes, to relieve often, to comfort always.”

Dr Guruswami Mudaliar, Dr Rangachari, Dr Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Dr Thirumurthi, Dr Srinivasamurthi and some others of that stature followed this maxim. Invoking the example of these medical luminaries, I would like to urge the medical fraternity to retain the ethos of ‘GPs’. As Dr Alexis Comfort has pointed out: “Medicine is not the diagnosis and cure of disease, but the diagnosis and treatment of a patient who addresses himself to a physician.” A doctor must understand the patient before he understands the disease.

Medicine has a correctional role, but doctors of the earlier generation emphasized health as a positive attribute to curative medicine. That is how the concept of ‘family doctors’ had taken root. A doctor was a family friend, like an elder, a teacher or a counsellor. That is precisely what Dr Guruswami Mudaliar was.

It is worth remembering that while Dr Guruswami Mudaliar, Dr Rangachari and others were exemplary representatives of the modern allopathic system, they also held indigenous systems in the highest respect. To Dr Guruswami Mudaliar belongs the credit for systematizing courses in indigenous medicine followed by the College of Integrated Medicine. In India, thanks to the balanced thinking of medical planners, the indigenous system has existed side by side with the Western system. I would like, in this context, to pay a compliment to the successive Governments of Tamil Nadu for the support they have given to indigenous medicine.

Great as Dr Guruswami Mudaliar was as a medical phenomenon he was greater as a human phenomenon. His reputation as a helper was not one step behind his reputation as a healer. Dr Guruswami Mudaliar was an exceptional philanthropist whose munificence helped the growth of two important educational institutions in Madras city—TTV Higher Secondary School in Mint Street and M.R. Guruswamy Mudaliar TTV High School in George Town. His interest in the TTV Higher Secondary School also saw the beginning of what was perhaps the first mid-day meal scheme for children—which has since become a prestigious scheme adopted not just in Tamil Nadu but in other States as well. A crusading member of the staff by name Shri Vemoor Narasimhachari approached Dr Guruswamy Mudaliar for financial assistance for carrying out the mid-day meal scheme at the TTV Higher Secondary School. Dr Mudaliar quietly and without any fanfare donated his spacious bungalow at Egmore, the rental from which could be used for financing the mid-day meal scheme.

Dr Guruswami Mudaliar's interest in education found another constructive outlet for nearly two decades when Dr Mudaliar served Madras University as a Member of the Senate and Syndicate. He was also a Member of the Madras Legislative Council for a term. It was my privilege to be a Member of the same House during a part of his term.

Finally, Dr Guruswami Mudaliar was a man of deep, of unostentatious piety. Bhagwan Ramana Maharshi and Sri Aurobindo had blessed him, as did the Sage of Kanchi. In honouring a person as blessed as Dr Guruswami Mudaliar, we are honouring both sheer genius and sheer goodness.

Dr Guruswami Mudaliar personified the saying of Appar:

“En Kadan Pani Saeithu Kidappathe”

Friends, Dr Guruswami Mudaliar would approve of a commemoration programme only if it were to go beyond honouring him to honouring the principle of service before self. May that motto of his find resonance in society and may Madras, Tamil Nadu and India be blessed with many more Guruswami Mudaliars.

Gopinath Bardoloi

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to unveil the portrait of Lokapriya Gopinath Bardoloi, a great and noble son of India.

Bardoloi belongs to the generation of patriots from all over the country who plunged themselves into the struggle for the freedom of the motherland.

The first salvo on behalf of freedom was, as you are all aware, fired in 1857. This was followed by a series of political struggles in which different methodologies were employed by patriots to achieve the goal. Revolutionaries who believed in the path of violence, and liberals who believed in the evolution of democratic institutions, made their own distinctive contributions to the struggle.

It was in the second decade in the century that the movement for political freedom was transformed into a national mass struggle under Gandhiji's leadership. The Gandhian movement combined the uncompromising courage of the radicals with the intellectual sophistication of the liberals. It, thus, appealed to a wide range of Indians throughout the length and breadth of our vast land. Ordinary men and women were transformed into heroes of freedom struggle and organisers, spokesmen and leaders of the movement. What made these initiatives different from the earlier ones was that they included not just the political emancipation of the country but its social and economic renaissance as well.

Gopinath Bardoloi personified Assam's contribution to this nationwide phenomenon. He was to Assam what Sardar Patel was to Gujarat; Rajendra Prasad to Bihar; Rajaji to Madras and Govind Ballabh Pant to the United Provinces. In fact, in the lexicon of the Gandhian struggle, Bardoloi and Assam were synonymous and interchangeable terms. If Assam's opinion on any national matter was to be sought, the Congress Working Committee would turn to one person alone—Gopinath Bardoloi. Even more significantly, the people of Assam reposed utmost faith and confidence in their leader—Gopinath Bardoloi.

Like almost all the stalwarts of the freedom struggle, Gopinath Bardoloi studied law but proceeded thereafter to become not a prosperous lawyer, but a legally-trained soldier in the national cause. Attending the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1920 which was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai, he gave up his legal practice to join the non-cooperation movement in 1921. From that point onwards there was no looking back. Bardoloi's personal integrity, discipline and austerity had made him a Gandhian even before he met Gandhiji. Here was a case of kindred souls coming together, recognizing mutually cherished qualities in each other and becoming friends and colleagues for life. The great saint, Sankaradeva had already turned Bardoloi's personality Godwards and so Bardoloi and Gandhiji were also partners in a spiritual sense. Bardoloi was attracted not just to the political ideals of the Mahatma but equally to those constructive programmes for social emancipation of the weak and underprivileged. Bardoloi rapidly gained the confidence, trust and respect of the people of Assam, irrespective of whether they were from the plains or hills. They listened to him as to an elder brother who had no axe of his own to grind and whose interest in them was entirely selfless. He became friend, philosopher and guide to all of them. Even the Naga rebel leader, Phizo acknowledged that "Bardoloi was a friend of the Nagas".

When Congress accepted office for the first time under the scheme of

Provincial Autonomy in 1937, Bardoloi was the automatic choice for the office of Premier of Assam. His tenure was marked by a beginning of several schemes for the betterment of the people of Assam, transcending all boundaries of caste and creed. Education received the particular attention of Bardoloi's Government. He undertook a major reform of the educational system, establishing the Kamarup Academy and the Baruah College at Guwahati. It was due to his untiring efforts that Assam also acquired, at this time, an agricultural college, a medical college and a veterinary college apart from technical institutions. 'Rashtrabhasha Prachar' received an exceptional fillip during his stewardship of the State, as did the Gandhian programme of prohibition, especially, of opium. Bardoloi made the transition from a revolutionary to an administrator with remarkable ease. His tenure as Assam's Premier won him the appreciation of not only Gandhiji and Jawaharlalji but of that critical judge of men, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. There was, in fact, much in common between these two stalwarts. Bardoloi, like Sardar Patel, never spared slackness or lack of commitment in others. But most of all, he was unsparing with himself. He worked himself to the extremities of personal endurance. Not surprisingly the State administration earned a very good name for itself and Assam prospered but Bardoloi's own health suffered in the process.

Office, for Bardoloi, was not an end in itself; it was a means. And so when, at the commencement of the Second World War Congress resigned from office in the Provinces, Bardoloi retransferred his energy once again to the national movement. He was chosen by Gandhiji in 1941 to be the first individual *satyagrahi* in Assam and his role in the Quit India Movement of 1942 became something of a local legend.

Bardoloi's indelible contribution lies in the crucial role he played on the eve of Independence when he put up a stiff resistance to what was called the 'Grouping Plan' initiated by the Cabinet Mission led by Sir Stafford Cripps. The late Sarat Chandra Bose and Syama Prasad Mookherjee appreciated Bardoloi's opposition to this Plan. The matter was then put before Gandhiji who understood the position and gave Bardoloi his moral support. Bardoloi launched a state-wide agitation against the grouping policy with great courage and foresight. This very timely action of Bardoloi saved Assam from becoming a helpless pawn on the prepartition chess board of Indian politics. We can confidently say today that if Assam remained on this side of the boundaries drawn in 1947, the primary credit for that goes to Lokapriya Gopinath Bardoloi.

But great as this achievement of Bardoloi was, his real and most abiding achievement went beyond this. As Chief Minister of Assam after Independence, Bardoloi regarded all the people of his State as his own family while his natural family remained in obscurity. He thereby won the cordial affection and confidence of people with different backgrounds and persuasions like the late A.Z. Phizo and J.J. Nicholas Ray. For him Assam was a mini-India with many faiths, languages and ethnic backgrounds. He saw that each one of the various segments of Assam's people must possess both a sense of identity as

also of identification: identity as individuals and as groups; and identification with a larger entity: Assam and India. For Bardoloi an Assamese was not a true Assamese if he could not feel for the Khasi, the Mizo, the Bodo or the Naga. Equally, an Indian was not a true Indian if he could not feel for Assam. A tree exists not just in its roots but in its trunk and every branch, flower and leaf. If the branch is injured, the root is pained; if the root is cut, the branch cannot survive. Bardoloi knew his. It behoves all of us to carry this message to the nooks and corners of our vast country.

Bardoloi cared deeply for individuals and helped them to grow. Among his younger colleagues and successors were Bisnuram Medhi, B.P. Chaliha, M.M. Chowdhuri, Bijoy Bhagawati, Hem Baruah, S.C. Sinha and D.K. Borooah. All of them became Chief Ministers or Union Ministers, Members of Parliament or Governors. One of them, the late Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed Saheb became President of India. Bardoloi, in that sense, was an alchemist. He was a leader who developed leadership in others.

As we celebrate Bardoloi's centenary, let us do more than honour the memory of a well-beloved leader; let us honour the vision which he cherished; let us honour his faith in national integration and unity by following his example. We do not have Gopinath Bardoloi in our midst today, but there is a Bardoloi in every son and daughter of Assam. We must seek the Bardoloi in every Assamese. Similarly, every Assamese must discover in other Indians the spontaneous understanding and appreciation which Bardoloi found among his colleagues in the rest of India. In a fitting tribute to Bardoloi and to his work for unity, Sardar Patel observed:

"The State has yet to consolidate this unity and cement its bonds. It has yet to infuse into the different elements... a spirit of oneness and loyalty to its common ideals. None of us was more fitted to achieve this difficult task than Gopinath Bardoloi. But alas, fate has removed him at a time when the state needed him most. I can only hope that his successor, and his colleagues will follow the path on which he trod and, inspired by his example, will devote themselves to his unfinished tasks with unity and faith."

This unfinished task has, in recent times, acquired urgency. May the portrait being unveiled today inspire the present and succeeding generations to devote themselves to the cause of national integrity and unity.

Dr Syama Prasad Mookherjee

IT IS WITH real pleasure and a sense of personal satisfaction that I participate in this function to unveil the portrait of one who was the pride of India—Dr Syama Prasad Mookherjee. I would, therefore, like to thank the Hon'ble Speaker most sincerely for inviting me to unveil this portrait and thereby pay my tribute to that great patriot.

In the many-splendoured renaissance of India, Bengal played a distinguished role. Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Raja Rammohun Roy, Aurobindo Ghose, Rabindranath Tagore, Subhas Chandra Bose, Sarojini Naidu and a host of others formed a galaxy of stars that shine eternally in our memory.

It is remarkable that this galaxy came into being almost contemporaneously with the national awakening for freedom. In that stellar formation, two stars stood together, shedding a unique lustre of their own: the distinguished Asutosh Mookherjee and his brilliant son, Syama Prasad Mookherjee.

Scholarship, nationalism and fearlessness suffused the atmosphere of the Mookherjee home into which Syama Prasadji was born on 6 July 1901. Asutoshji personified renascent Bengal's self-respect, self-reliance and self-confidence. As Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Sir Asutosh had said: "Freedom first, Freedom last, Freedom always". Syama Prasadji imbibed this message from his father and enriched it.

Not surprisingly, Syama Prasadji's early years bespoke excellence in every field of activity. He graduated from Calcutta's Presidency College, standing first in the first class with English Honours as his subject. He also took his Master's degree in 1923 with a first class first, studying Indian Vernaculars instead of English, in tune with Sir Asutosh's policy of giving Bengali and Indian languages their rightful place. He performed the hat trick by securing, in 1924, a first class first once again in the B.L. degree examination. Very few Indians in any walk of life ever matched his distinguished academic career. He inherited from his father the passion for education and an insight into the working of the educational system. No wonder he was elected to the University Senate and Syndicate, and also became its youngest Vice-Chancellor in 1934. Barely 33 years old, Syama Prasad made an immediate impression. It was during his term as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University that his formidable reputation as an educationist, social thinker and powerful orator spread beyond the boundaries of Bengal.

Syama Prasadji was elected to the Legislative Council from the Calcutta University Constituency. He later became a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Bengal where he won the regard, respect and admiration of even

the alien government. He served as the Finance Minister of undivided Bengal in the Fazal-ul-Haque Ministry.

Syama Prasadji protested with all the vehemence and eloquence at his command against the British actions during the Quit India Movement. Most of the Congress leadership was then behind bars. Syama Prasadji, though a member of the Bengal Government at that time, exhorted the British Government to release the leaders, take the people into confidence, and raise a National Defence Force. This attempt having met with no success, he opted to leave the Bengal Government. He condemned the British administration for its callous attitude to the Bengal famine and, in his parleys with the Cripps Mission, asked for India's liberation.

Syama Prasadji's differences with the Congress Party did not stand in the way of his pursuing his patriotic instincts and striving for the freedom of the country. His name became a byword for uncompromising patriotism, pride in India's heritage and unflagging zeal. He commanded the respect of people across political boundaries, as a foremost champion of the cause of Indian liberation.

But Syama Prasadji was much more than a leading soldier of our army of independence. For him redeeming the self-respect which we as a nation had lost, was a priority. What was at stake for him was not merely the conferment on our countrymen of a right to choose our government, but the inculcation of a sense of pride in our ancient heritage. A staunch Hindu by birth, upbringing and belief, Syama Prasadji had an eclectic mind. His interest in the work of the Mahabodhi Society of India as its President, for instance, bears testimony to his broad and liberal non-sectarian outlook.

Syama Prasadji was elected to the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal. He made memorable contributions to its deliberations and to its Committees such as the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, the Union Constitution Committee and the Minorities Subcommittee. The proceedings of those bodies reveal that whatever be the divergences in individual perception, the leaders of those times did not hesitate to come together in the national interest, a lesson which all of us should relearn.

Jawaharlal Nehru, our first Prime Minister, invited distinguished non-Congressmen like Syama Prasadji, John Mathai, Shanmugam Chetty and Babasaheb Ambedkar to join the Union Cabinet in 1947 along with the Congress leaders. Syama Prasadji was entrusted with the crucial portfolio of Industries. His remarkable mental agility came to the fore when he handled the portfolio of Industries. He laid the foundation for what was later called the 'mixed economy' with a rare felicity. As a member of Parliament at that time I had the privilege of observing Syama Prasadji's work from close quarters. An ardent believer in the appropriate role for private enterprise and market economy, it was nonetheless given to Syama Prasadji to establish the outstanding public sector undertakings like the Chittaranjan Works, the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. and the Sindri Fertilizers. Pragmatism and not dogmatism informed his industrial policy. Every sector, the public, the

private, the co-operative, the self-employed, the small and the rural industries received his fostering care and generous assistance.

I should like to cite one example: Around 1948, the workers of salt-pans in the district of Tirunelveli in South India had formed a co-operative for the manufacture of salt and applied for assignment of land to the Central Government. The idea was novel and was resisted by the bureaucracy from the lowest level to the highest in the Government of India. I represented to Syama Prasadji the cause of the salt workers and explained to him that this was a unique experiment which was worth trying. Syama Prasadji, overruling all objections, allowed the co-operative to be formed and assigned the land. It is today an outstanding example of co-operative salt manufacture by the workers themselves.

As Industries Minister, Dr Syama Prasad Mookherjee had a practical and sympathetic approach to labour problems. While he did not subscribe to the Marxist doctrine of class struggle, Syama Prasadji believed in co-operation between labour and employer in the interest of increased production and productivity. He had a great solicitude for the welfare of labour for which I can also bear personal testimony.

Syama Prasadji was an eloquent speaker, a skilful debater and an able Parliamentarian. Quick-witted and nimble in expression, he was devastating in his repartees. Syama Prasadji's historic statement on his resignation from the Union Cabinet over the Nehru-Liaquat Pact left a very deep impression both on Parliament and the people outside.

As a Leader of the Opposition he was alert, active and quick at response. Few in Parliament matched his eloquence and his debating skill. When Nehruji, Rajaji and Sardar Patel crossed swords with Dr Syama Prasad, it was not sparks that emanated from the clash but glittering gems that rolled out of it.

Syama Prasadji was a man of great moral courage. His demise in Jail is one of the tragic episodes in our national history. The news plunged the entire country in grief. I was in the House when Jawaharlal Nehru as Prime Minister and Leader of the House, made a memorable obituary reference. With the greatness of heart and elegance that was characteristic of him, Jawaharlalji spoke movingly of his erstwhile colleague: "This is not the time to think of differences but rather of the many agreements and of the fact that we are deprived of the personality who had played such a notable and great part in the country."

Jawaharlalji also referred to the fact that Syama Prasadji's death was so palpably premature. "A large and good stretch of years was before him," said he and added with a sorrow that spoke for the entire nation: "But that was not to be."

May I on this occasion express the fervent hope and prayer that his courage, patriotism and dedication to the nation will continue to inspire this and succeeding generations.

I would like to congratulate the Hon'ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha on

enriching the galaxy of portraits of national leaders in the Central Hall of Parliament, with the portrait of one who was rightly described as a Lion of Parliament.

I have great pleasure in unveiling the portrait of a great national leader and a distinguished Parliamentarian. May his example inspire our lives.

Sri Prakasa

I AM DELIGHTED to associate myself with the release of the commemorative stamp honouring an illustrious son of the Indian renaissance, the late Sri Prakasa.

I would like to felicitate the Sri Prakasa Smarak Samiti on its many initiatives towards the celebration of Sri Prakasa's birth centenary. The Department of Posts and Telegraphs of the Government of India deserves to be congratulated on its decision to issue a commemorative stamp on Sri Prakasa and thereby enriching the series of stamps honouring national personalities.

I said a few moments ago that Sri Prakasa was a son of the Indian renaissance. That statement is true in a very literal sense also, since Sri Prakasa's father was the renowned scholar, thinker and savant, Dr Bhagwan Das. Born to a father of so great a stature, Sri Prakasa imbibed the values of India's religious and cultural heritage from his childhood. Bhagwan Das, as some of the older members of this audience might be aware, was not only a distinguished scholar but an ardent Theosophist. Bhagwan Das consequently had no difficulty in reconciling his deep faith in the principles of Hinduism, with the eclectic temper of a true Theosophist. Sri Prakasa received from Dr Bhagwan Das an initiation into the cardinal tenets of the Hindu faith and at the same time, a reverence for the Sacred in all faiths and cultures.

Educated at Allahabad and later at Cambridge where he was a contemporary of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sri Prakasa envisioned India's destiny as a free nation in which its ancient cultural heritage and civilization would find a renewal. In his address to the U.P. Political Conference in 1934, Sri Prakasa said, "I fear I cannot take a merely materialistic view of our aspirations. Swaraj for us is the recovery of our lost soul—and not only the finding of our lost health." Sri Prakasa's association, under the guidance of his distinguished father with the Theosophical Society and with the Banaras Hindu University gave him an opportunity to bring into actual practice his blend of tradition and modernity, nationalism and universality, piety and eclecticism.

Few people could claim Sri Prakasa's command over Sanskrit, Hindi and

English. He spoke all the three as to the manner born. A prolific writer, Sri Prakasa was a master of these languages not only as a communicator but in fact as a litterateur. Not surprisingly he was pressed to write for *The Leader* and *The Independent*, articles on matters of contemporary concern. His views were, of course, regarded as the authentic voice of the Congress leadership. Few people remember that Sri Prakasa was a pioneer in the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Sri Prakasa's literary activity proceeded hand in hand with his political work. His book on Annie Besant and his unique work in Hindi, entitled *Grihastha Gita*, won for him a nation-wide standing amongst students of Indian History, Religion and Culture. Dr Annie Besant used to address Sri Prakasa affectionately as 'My dear son'.

Imprisoned a number of times for participation in the freedom movement, Sri Prakasa was an articulate member of the AICC for three full and epoch making decades, namely, 1917 to 1945. He was a member of the Central Assembly from 1935 to 1936 and again in 1946. He was also a member of the Constituent Assembly.

Sri Prakasa always spoke clearly, cogently and with conviction. I was his contemporary in the Provisional Parliament during 1950-52 when he was a Union Cabinet Minister for Commerce and later for Natural Resources. He heard everyone with attention and accommodated every reasonable view, setting thereby high standards of democratic values.

Keeping in mind Sri Prakasa's many attributes, he was appointed by Jawaharlal Nehru as the first High Commissioner of India in Pakistan. The assignment was challenging, since Sri Prakasa's term of office in that country coincided with the traumatic events that followed the partition of India. He rose splendidly to the occasion. Sri Prakasa's book, entitled, *Pakistan, Birth and Early Days* constitutes an authentic record of the history of those momentous times.

Public offices sought Sri Prakasa. Jawaharlalji later urged him to accept the Governorship of Assam, then of Madras, and, finally, of Maharashtra. I speak from personal knowledge when I say that the people of Madras State looked upon Governor Sri Prakasa as one of their own, a wise and learned paterfamilias. Sri Prakasa toured extensively in the Madras State, mingling with the different classes of people, winning and retaining their confidence, irrespective of the divisions and denominations bequeathed to us by history. Sri Prakasa's relations with his two Chief Ministers in Madras, Shri Rajaji and Shri Kamaraj were exemplary, being marked by mutual trust, confidence and rectitude.

Wise that he was, Sri Prakasa was also gifted with a sense of humour. He was able to enliven his erudite speeches, writings and conversations with a ready and sparkling wit. He was, at the same time, full of compassion for the needy and the downtrodden. Countless are the philanthropic causes that he made his own. As one who knew of his work in Madras, I am aware that social welfare organizations, orphanages, homes for the destitute received his best attention. The arts found in him a knowledgeable and encouraging patron.

The same success marked Sri Prakasa's tenure of office in Maharashtra.

If one were to identify the essence of Sri Prakasa's life, one could say that Sri Prakasa was a man who had a deep reverence for the Sacred. He believed in the sanctity of human values, human relationships and affiliations. In short, Sri Prakasa believed that human evolution was meant to link us to the Divine. It follows that nothing that we do should abridge that redemption equation. May Sri Prakasa's centenary celebrations instil in us qualities of kindness and compassion, erudition and elegance, simplicity and nobility that characterized the long distinguished multifaceted career of Sri Prakasa.

With these words I have great pleasure in releasing the commemorative stamp honouring Sri Prakasa.

Rajiv Gandhi

IT IS CUSTOMARY for an address such as this to begin with the sentence: "It gives me great pleasure to participate in this function". And yet, the true emotion in my heart this morning and in the hearts of the people of this country, when we are releasing the beautiful stamp bearing the radiant countenance of Rajiv Gandhi on his auspicious birthday is one of sadness. The pang of our loss is too strong, too fresh, to admit of any other mood.

Horror and sorrow, rage and disbelief, alternated in our minds when, in a flash, Rajiv Gandhi was snatched from our midst. He was there one moment: strong, confident, reassuring, returning the affection of the crowds with spontaneous concern, comforting a petitioner here, assuaging an unfortunate soul there, hearing grievances and—as always—smiling. The next moment, he was gone. The present with all its immediacy and promise, suddenly became the past. The steps which led to the platform at Sriperumbudur from where he was to address a gathering, remained untrod. Rajiv Gandhi stepped, that instant, from leadership to legend, from striving to sacrifice, from life to immortality.

All of India, including those who were his associates as well as those who disagreed with him politically, recoiled with shock and repugnance at what had happened. A life at the zenith of its dynamic power, a future full of promise, a force at the crest of its momentum, being suddenly and abruptly erased seemed outrageous and utterly unacceptable. 'Can Time, can Destiny, be so cruel?' was the thought that occurred to millions upon millions of Rajiv Gandhi's fellow citizens.

Until 1980 Rajiv had been a modest, home-bound, publicity-shy son, brother, husband and father. His own initial preference was for a quiet life far

from the madding crowd. He had a clear talent and interest: pursuit of his skills in the science and art of aviation. He enjoyed flying the machine both before and after becoming the Prime Minister. But, history intended Rajiv for a different pilot's seat. In fact when the call came, he did not falter or shirk his responsibilities but came up with courage and determination to lead the country, meet the challenges and set the nation on a new path befitting the emerging next century.

The older generation in India recognized in him the idealism and dynamism of Jawaharlal Nehru; an impatience with mediocrity and passive procrastination in dealing with the urgent problems of the country. He wanted to usher in the 21st century even before its time. He had inherited Indira Gandhi's quick perception and firm decision on matters of vital importance. Whether it was the Assam Accord, the Rajiv-Longowal Agreement or the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, Rajiv displayed decision making qualities of an exceptionally high order and capacity for negotiating and concluding settlements.

Sympathy and affection towards the weak and poor, eclecticism and secularism without any trace of regionalism, communalism, bias or prejudice, a dauntless courage in the face of odds were Feroze Gandhi's legacy to Rajiv.

When, in 1984, I was leaving the Defence Ministry, I suggested to Indira Gandhi that Rajiv may take my place as he was showing a keen interest and good command over not only aircraft but other defence equipment as a member of the Defence Consultative Committee, Indiraji smiled and said "not yet". But within the next three months Rajiv was called upon to shoulder a heavier responsibility of leading the nation as its youngest Prime Minister. In the office of the Prime Minister, Rajiv showed an extraordinary capacity for administration, infused a dynamism, set high targets and projected his sights far into the next century. He introduced modern methods of management techniques, used sophisticated tools like computer, PERT charts, information systems which left many of his advisers far behind. He worked late hours, held threadbare discussions and always reached decisions on objective criteria. He was responsible for the schemes of technology missions for dealing with problems that had defied solution for decades. In short, he gave concrete shape to the Nehruvian concept of creating a scientific temper in the country.

Rajiv Gandhi saw industry and commerce as key areas where change and progress would enable the fulfilment of the dream of building a modern India. Policies for deregulation and liberalization were ushered in at an early stage in his term of office. The process of finding a place in the global economy for Indian industry was begun under his leadership. Rajiv had no doubt that if we were not able to increase the competitiveness and the efficiency of our industry and the quality of our products, we would never be able to gain a foothold in international trade. The policy structure was, therefore, tailored at his instance to the requirements of boosting efficiency.

The role of direct foreign investment as a vehicle for technology transfer, especially seen against the backdrop of India's scarcity of capital, was also given a fresh look. Fully cognizant of the need to integrate India with the

global economy, he wanted to attract and absorb the advanced technologies of the world and for that purpose concluded a number of memoranda of understanding with developed countries. The direction and thrust given by Rajiv to trade and industry yielded rich dividends. India's exports grew significantly.

Rajiv Gandhi paid special attention to the growth of self-reliance in defence technology. As a patriot and a realist, he saw the absolute necessity of minimizing external dependence for weapons and equipment needed for national defence. At the same time the engineer in him was greatly excited by the possibilities of technological growth and economic development which a successful defence research programme can stimulate as a secondary effect. He demanded high performance from the defence scientists; in turn, he nurtured them and protected them from uninformed criticism.

The successful launch of the 'Agni' and short-range missiles gave him immense satisfaction and pride in our defence research. Space research received his unstinted attention and support.

Rajiv's contributions in the international sphere lived up to the standards set by Jawaharlalji and Indiraji. Rajiv's response to the call for assistance by Sri Lanka in 1987, and later from the Maldives, showed his deep commitment to SAARC. His visit to Beijing in December 1988 is acknowledged as a turning point in the history of our relations with that ancient neighbour of ours.

The Six-Nation Five-Continent Initiative on Disarmament with a time-bound plan of action and the improvement in our bilateral relations with the USA are major contributions of his. The historic Delhi Declaration of November 1986, calling for a nuclear free non-violent world set the pace for subsequent steps culminating in the Soviet-American START agreement. The setting up of the AFRICA Fund of which he was Chairman to assist front line States to fight the pernicious system of apartheid and his personal efforts towards Namibian freedom won him Africa's eternal friendship. On North-South issues, South-South co-operation and issues relating to the environment, Rajiv articulated Indian opinion in a manner that compelled international attention.

The fact that world leaders from as many as sixty-three countries joined India's simple men and women to pay their respects to Rajiv Gandhi during his funeral, bears testimony to the stature that he had acquired among world statesmen in the short span of five years that he was Prime Minister.

I said at the commencement of these remarks that Rajiv has moved from the present to the past. That is true only in the limited dimension of calendar time. Rajiv by his personal attributes and public services symbolized some of those impulses of man which will, without doubt, fructify and enrich our future. Rajiv was a promise. His fulfilment lies ahead of us, in the realization of his various dreams for India and the world.

Time can never erase from our memory, the benign, affable and smiling countenance of Rajiv nor his unfailing courtesy, kindness and warmth. His personal charm has left an indelible imprint not only on his countrymen but

on the world leaders. The stamp which I am releasing today bears the impress of these fine qualities.

Though Rajiv's promising life has come to an unacceptably abrupt end, the words of the *Mahabharata* ring in one's mind:

मुहूर्तम् ज्वलितम् श्रेयो
न तु धूमायितम् चिरम्

(It is better to flame forth for one instant, than to smoulder away for ages!)

And as an English poet has put it:

"Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife,
Throughout the listening world proclaim,
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."

I compliment the Department of Posts for its initiative in this matter and thank the Minister of Communications for associating me with this occasion. May the stamp rekindle in us Rajiv Gandhi's resolve to move into a millennium of peace and prosperity as a secular and dynamic nation.

Ananthasayanam Ayyangar

IT IS WITH a sense of real satisfaction that I join this gathering to honour the late Ananthasayanam Ayyangar. A scholar, patriot and Legislator of distinction, he was one of the earliest pioneers in the cause of social equality and justice in our country. I would, therefore, like to thank the Hon'ble Speaker of the Lok Sabha most sincerely for inviting me to unveil Sri Ayyangar's portrait on the occasion of his centenary and thereby enable me to pay my tribute to one of the finest flowers of the Indian renaissance.

Seeing his portrait that has just been unveiled and travelling down memory lane today, I am reminded of the description in the *Sri Venkatesa Suprabhatam* which fits the character and personality of Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar perfectly:

Sumukham
Of pleasant countenance
Suhridam
Of good heart
Sulabham

Of easy access

Sukhajam

Of a charitable disposition

Sri Ayyangar was a person of a most genial disposition, an *ajaatasatru*, who never offended anyone even though he had firm views on men and matters and expressed them candidly. The reason is not far to seek; Sri Ayyangar had an unsullied heart—*shuddha chitham*—and meant no one any harm.

A voracious reader, he was well-versed, both in English literature and in Sanskrit and Tamil classical texts. He could offer apt quotations from all these languages to suit every occasion. Being a very fluent speaker, he deeply impressed whatever audience he addressed.

A foremost patriot and freedom fighter, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar took part in all the major initiatives of the struggle. Sri Ayyangar joined the individual Satyagraha campaign started by Gandhiji in 1940 and received a jail sentence for eight months. He later joined the Quit India movement and like many other brave revolutionaries of the August movement, underwent a prolonged incarceration for two years. For one who hailed from an orthodox Sri Vaishnava family, the rigours of jail life posed no small inconvenience to his practice of daily rituals. But Sri Ayyangar suffered the privations and made the adjustments cheerfully and manfully. The tradition of accepting with equanimity the joys and pains of life, handed down generations by his pious family helped Sri Ayyangar to face all obstacles in life. Notwithstanding his orthodox roots, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar became one of the earliest to enter the fight against untouchability and the evils of our caste system. He saw with clarity that these evils were only a later encrustation on our social fabric. He soon became one of the foremost advocates for the uplift of Harijans. Their right to temple entry in particular engaged his attention. This was only natural because Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar had been born in the temple town of Tiruchanur near Tirupathi—the holy of holies among our shrines. Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, like his distinguished contemporary, Rajaji firmly believed that there was no such thing as a high caste or a low caste but only a higher state of consciousness and a lower state of consciousness, neither of which has anything to do with birth. He realized that the denial of the right of worship to anyone on the basis of his birth was an offence against Divinity itself. His passion for temple entry was as great as his reverence for the Vedas and Sastras.

Having built up a lucrative practice in Chittoor, young Ananthasayanam was chosen as a Congress candidate to the Central Legislative Assembly. I remember the veteran Legislator and educationist C.R. Reddi describing Ananthasayanam at that time as a young colt and not a war-horse. But on taking his seat in the Central Assembly along with stalwarts such as Bhulabhai Desai, Gobind Ballabh Pant and the indomitable S. Satyamurti, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar who was only in his early 40's at that time immediately made a mark. He moved up from back benches to the front very soon and earned for himself—from a European writer—the sobriquet of

“Emden of the Assembly”—an allusion to the powerful German ship of that name which bombed Madras and gave no end of trouble to the Navy during the Second World War. But Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar’s volleys were not just sound and fury. He was indefatigable in his preparatory work and his speeches showed both legal acumen and a quality that was all his own—the sparkle of wit combined with wisdom. He was an ideal Private Member of the Legislature.

Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar made his mark equally well as a Member of the Constituent Assembly. In a speech in the Constituent Assembly on the subject of Minority Rights, on 27 August 1947, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar said:

“There is no doubt that differences between the Hindus and Muslims do exist... But there is also a common bond. I look forward to that day when humanity will be one, when all castes and creeds will disappear, when children who are asked as to what religion they belonged, they may say, “I do not belong to any religion but I am an Indian and take pride in being one.”

He was a member of the Steering Committee and later an active member of the Provisional Parliament. I was privileged to be in Parliament from 1950 to 1957 when Sri Ayyangar was Deputy Speaker and, later Speaker. Even as Deputy Speaker, Sri Ayyangar did not cease to function as an active and alert member whenever he was not in the Chair. His interpellations were always pointed, keeping the Treasury benches on its toes.

When the Estimates Committee of Parliament was established first in 1950, Sri Ayyangar as Deputy Speaker became its Chairman. He skilfully conducted its meetings and established a name for it. At the first meeting many questions of procedure arose and he resolved them to the satisfaction of everybody. There was a doubt in the mind of the members of the Committee as to whom they were responsible, to whom they would report, what would become of its recommendations and who would check whether they functioned within the terms of reference. After deliberations for a few days, Sri Ayyangar ruled on the points raised with clarity and precision. He said the Committee was a creature of Parliament and would be responsible to it only, the Committee would report to Parliament and the Government being responsible to Parliament would have to give utmost attention and respect to its suggestions. Sri Ayyangar was a sharp cross-examiner and when high officials of the Government appeared before the Committee he probed the matters so deeply that both the members and witnesses were amazed at the range and scope of his knowledge and his ability to dig deeply. He conducted the discussions in the Committee so neatly that all recommendations used to be unanimous.

Before Speaker Mavalankarji’s term was over, he was snatched away from us and the mantle of the Speaker’s Office fell on Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, whom Mavalankarji had consciously groomed for the high office.

Sri Ayyangar lived up to Members’ expectations during the first tenure as

Speaker of the Lok Sabha so well that he was re-elected as Speaker of the Second Lok Sabha. During Sri Ayyangar's term as Speaker, no single party had the strength to become Leader of the Opposition and we had a large number of parties with small numbers but led by men of outstanding abilities. Notwithstanding the plurality of parties and views, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar managed to win the confidence of all of them by his total fairness and objectivity. He saw the Office of Speaker as one which can promote co-operation amongst all parties by ensuring that debates and discussions, even on controversial matters, were conducted without rancour. He always sought to ensure a balance between the Government and the Opposition. He maintained perfect order in the House.

During his tenure as Speaker, many healthy conventions came to be established, setting important precedents for the future, ensuring the smooth conduct of business in the House, and broadly speaking, vouchsafing the image of Parliament. His rulings on the subject of questions, quorum and on policy statements being made by Ministers outside the House when the House is in session, have been pace-setting.

Pragmatic and businesslike, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar had a commonsense-approach to issues, sweeping aside sterile or hair-splitting dialectics. The rights and privileges of Members, of course, were paramount but he realized that in matters like this, a line has to be drawn somewhere. He made it clear that as a matter of courtesy to the House all enunciations of policy, or change of policy or announcements of new policy must first be brought to the notice of the House while the House was in session. Only thereafter can they be made known to others. And yet at the same time, Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar cautioned the Members as follows: "But as to whether a particular thing is a matter of policy or of detail, we are not here to go on giving advice to the Minister. I am sure the Hon. Minister himself is competent to decide whether it is a matter of policy or not." This is one of the innumerable instances of his striking a fair and balanced approach to all issues.

As Speaker, Sri Ayyangar visited several countries at the head of Parliamentary delegations. His discussions with world leaders were always most successful. He had the gift of impressing every one with his knowledge, clear enunciation of principles and progressive ideas. Once Mr Gaitskell, the then leader of the British Labour Party, after a discussion with Sri Ayyangar said that he and his fellow delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference taking place in Delhi, received from Sri Ayyangar a powerful exposition of the strides made by India as also an insight into the strengths and weaknesses of the Commonwealth. Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar became Chairman of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and held that position for several years.

When the time came for Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar to demit office as Speaker, Member after Member paid glowing encomiums to his role. He was applauded for having upheld the dignity of the House, the prestige of the Members and, generally, the values of Parliamentary democracy. It was

acknowledged by Members led by the Prime Minister that Speaker Ayyangar had invested the work of Parliament with real quality.

Sri Ayyangar was thereafter appointed Governor of Bihar. At the end of his tenure in Patna, he returned to his home town, Tirupathi, where he spent the evening of his life at or near the sacred precincts of that temple-town. But he did not spare himself even there. The work of the Sanskrit Vidyapeeth at Tirupathi received his special attention. He gave the most active encouragement to vedic studies. A connoisseur in music and the fine arts, he gave artists valuable guidance and support.

Numerous were the charitable organisations which he helped from his own personal resources. Help to the needy was not a creed with him: it was his second nature. And when the Almighty called Ananthasayanam Ayyangar away on 19 March 1978, at the ripe age of 87, the gathering of mourners included not merely the high priests of the temple but numerous representatives of the poor and downtrodden. His friends and relations did not fail to notice that among them was a group of leprosy patients who lived in a nearby colony and whom Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar had been helping in his own unostentatious but genuine way. He observed in his life, the ancient tenet:

न त्वहम् कामये राज्यम्
न स्वर्गम् न पुनर्भवम्
कामये दुःख तप्तानाम्
प्राणीनाम् आर्तिनाशनम्

("I seek not temporal power;
No, nor heaven either.
I do not even seek 'Release
From the cycle of Rebirths'.
My only prayer is:
May Thy creatures be freed from Pain.")

Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar lived a long and active life but, more significantly, he lived a fulfilled life. May his portrait inspire all of us.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

I DEEM IT a privilege to be asked to deliver the Maulana Azad Memorial Lecture. I would like to convey my thanks to Dr Shanker Dayal Sharma who, as President of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, has extended this

invitation to me. I am conscious of the fact that by accepting it, I am joining a distinguished company of scholars and thinkers from India and abroad who have delivered these commemorative lectures.

Maulana Azad was a legend in his time. His contribution to the cause of national liberation is an indelible chapter in our national history. Our struggle for liberation was a magnetic field which drew diverse people into its orbit. Each brought his or her own perspective and talent to the cause. If one came with great organizing ability, another brought intellectual sharpness, while yet another the quality of total dedication. Maulana Saheb was unique in that he brought with him a rare combination of qualities of head and heart. He thereby became an inspiration that was at once intellectual and emotional. His dedication proceeded simultaneously from the reflexes of the mind as well as the vibrations of the heart.

But more than all this—and this is where he was matchless—Maulana Saheb brought to the national movement the message of India's pluralist richness and of the unity underlying our diverse languages, religions, customs and practices. As a tribute to this historical vision of Maulana Saheb I propose to devote my address to the theme: Maulana Azad and the Unity of India.

This gathering is well aware of the course of Maulana Saheb's life. Indeed, some members of the audience have studied, researched and interpreted that remarkable career. For anyone to dwell on that life's details before an audience such as this would, therefore, be both superfluous and presumptuous. But I would like to delineate that vital impulse in Maulana Saheb's life which, in my opinion, determined its direction and exercised a decisive influence on our subcontinent's history.

Young Mohiuddin, the Maulana-to-be, was born in a home where religion had a strong presence. Tradition, in their abode in Mecca was strict. Khairuddin Dehlawi, his father, was a man of considerable erudition renowned for a passionate devotion to the Prophet as well as a mystic piety, which brought him several disciples. Young Mohiuddin was not quite a 'disciple' and he did not share his father's implacable opposition to European education, but even as a child in Mecca the future Maulana had learned the Quran, mastering several suras and acquiring the fundamentals of Arabic. He had assimilated by the age of 15 the body of Islamic education which is normally received at about the age of 20. He was soon to gain the additional knowledge of Persian which, together with his fluency in Urdu, marked him out for an assured future in the world of scholarship. This multilinguality naturally opened several doors and windows in his mind and, to adapt the Mahatma's phrase, winds from different climes and shores flowed in without disturbing his firm anchorage in the tenets of Islam. Of these, one predominated the others: the gentle zephyr of our sufi tradition. Mohiuddin was both relaxed and refreshed by it; he was becalmed and stirred by it.

It was at about this time that another determining influence reached him; that of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan. Reports of Sir Sayyid's educational initiatives captivated the intellectually-awakened Mohiuddin who had already

taken to writing Urdu and Persian verse under the pen-name of *Azad* meaning ‘unfettered’ or ‘free’. This exposure to sufism on the one hand and to the modern vision of Sir Sayyid had two immediate and direct implications. First, Azad rejected the belief that scriptural authority as handed down by orthodox interpreters should be accepted without reflection. Second, Azad now stood on the threshold of modern knowledge.

Not many among non-historians are perhaps aware that it was under Sir Sayyid’s influence that Azad began to learn English and soon after he had done so, studied the English Bible, alongside Urdu and Persian translations. Today, some ninety years later, this may not seem extraordinary but it needs to be realized that in the beginning of our century it was virtually unthinkable that someone in Azad’s place could engage himself in study and discussions with those of different religions—Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Parsi, Bahai and also with those who professed atheism. But Azad did.

Here I would like to invite attention to an essay that Azad wrote in 1910. It was on the extraordinary 17th century mystic Sarmad, who had been executed on Aurangzeb’s orders, shortly after the brutal killing of the broad-minded Prince Dara Shikoh. Azad’s essay, which has recently been reissued in English translation by the ICCR, contains this striking passage of Azad’s on Dara Shikoh:

“During the last days of Emperor Shahjehan, Dara Shikoh was heir-apparent... From his early years Dara displayed the attributes of a Dervish. He always kept company with philosophers and sufis... The humility with which Dara met the Muslim divines was matched by the devotion with which he bowed his head before the Hindu saints and sadhus. Who can deny the purity of this principle? Because in this exalted state of mind, if one can still distinguish between Kufr and Islam then what is the difference between blindness and vision?”

Thought and action are twins. Azad had been present in Dhaka in 1906 when the Muslim League was founded. But the League’s faithfulness to the Raj was unacceptable to him. Even as Azad’s mind turned increasingly towards eclecticism, the arc of his public activities began to intersect with those of some of the leading revolutionaries of the ‘Bengal School’ of the time, across religious divides.

He turned, therefore, to the Bengal revolutionaries who happened to be, mostly, Hindus. He was admitted to their inner councils as a brave and wise entrant. In 1912, Azad’s new role flowered in the shape of the newspaper *Al-Hilal* which Azad started in Calcutta, “demolishing” as an observer said, “the barriers between journalism and creative literature”. Written with courage and brilliance, the paper also demolished intellectual barriers between Hindus and Muslims although, for reasons of language, the paper had few Hindu readers. Azad’s writings in *Al-Hilal* articulated the eclectic nationalist spirit of the day in its sublimest form. He sought to enlist dedicated Muslims and through an agreement with Hindus, launch a joint struggle against the British. Predictably enough, the paper was prosecuted and had the

deposits forfeited and was forced to close down in November 1914.

Azad stated, significantly, that the road to Hindu-Muslim partnership was shown by an event in the life of the Prophet:

“When the Prophet Muhammad migrated to Medina he prepared a covenant between the Muslims and the Jews of Medina. In the covenant it was mentioned that ultimately the Muslims and non-Muslims would become one nation. Thus if I say that the Muslims of India cannot perform their duty unless they are united with the Hindus, it is in accordance with the tradition of the Prophet who himself wanted to make a nation of Muslims and non-Muslims....”

Here one can see a parallel between the Mahatma’s approach to religious understanding and the Maulana’s. Both of them sought that understanding not by weakening or diluting their own religious convictions; rather, they were impelled by their perception of their own faiths to seek concord with those of others. The Mahatma said: “....Hinduism is not an exclusive religion. In it there is room for the worship of all the prophets in the world. It is not a missionary religion in the ordinary sense of the term. It has no doubt absorbed many tribes in its fold, but this absorption has been of an evolutionary, imperceptible character. Hinduism tells every one to worship God according to his own faith or Dharma and so it lives at peace with all the religions.”

In the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Lord enunciates:

“yo-yo yam-yam tanum bhaktah
sraddhaya ’rcitum ichhati
tasya-tasya ’calam sraddham
tam eva vidadhamy aham”.

(Whatever form any devotee with faith wishes to worship, I make that faith of his, steady).

Both Gandhiji and Maulana Saheb gave the widest, most inclusive, interpretations to their respective faiths. Great minds think alike.

After the enforced closure of *Al-Hilal*, Azad was asked to leave Calcutta and was interned in Ranchi until 1 January 1920. It was in this interval that he wrote his famous translation of the Quran—the *Tarjuman* in an exercise reminiscent of Tilak who while incarcerated in Mandalay, wrote his commentary on the *Gita*.

In his translation and commentary of 18 of the Quran’s 30 chapters he expressed his conviction that the Quran was “comprehensive enough to include all forms of monotheism”. Azad highlighted in the *Tarjuman* what he regarded as a vital Quranic passage regarding the different paths to the one God and I give Azad’s own rendering of that passage:

“We have set for each [group] of you a particular code and path. Had God so willed, he could have made you one people, but He tests you by the separate regulations which He has made for you.... So [do not lose yourself

in these differences but] endeavour to surpass each other through your good deeds.”

Gandhiji had, similarly, cautioned Hindus against the rigidities which narrow interpretations of the Shastras had imposed on Hindu society. Doing the same, Azad brought into sharp focus the existence of two clearly discernible streams in India’s Islamic consciousness—that represented by the learned theologians or the ulema with their emphasis on textual fidelity on the one hand, and that represented by the sufis or mystics, on the other. Azad, spontaneously and irrevocably, dipped the cup of his life in the self-renewing waters from which Akbar and Kabir had drawn their spiritual nourishment. And if Dara Shikoh had found a mystic guide in Sarmad, Azad found Mahatma Gandhi.

Within days of his release Azad was in Delhi and met the Mahatma. The nation’s outrage over the Rowlatt Act and Jallianwala Bagh had merged with the Khilafat issue in a *sangam* of kinetic energy. Without a moment’s hesitation Azad accepted the Mahatma’s proposal for non-violent non-cooperation. The editor of *Al-Hilal* and the translator of the Quran saw in Gandhiji’s plan the very joint Hindu-Muslim struggle which he had long envisioned. With Azad, the desire to see united action between Muslims and Hindus was not a matter of tactics; it was the most natural aspiration of one who felt that to be the truest and purest position for a pious Muslim to take. For Azad the Quranic injunction was clear: those who have done the *qaum* violence, viz, the British, must be opposed. And it followed that solidarity between the victims of the violence was not only good and proper, but the only right course. Azad’s prioritization was clear.

In 1923, Azad was asked to preside over the Congress, a rare honour to someone so young and a tribute as much to the breadth of his vision as to his political ability. To the insidious arguments from short sighted people on both sides of our ethnic configuration, he provided a stirring refutation in these words: “If an angel descends from the heavens today and proclaims from the Qutb Minar that India can attain Swaraj within 24 hours provided I relinquish my demand for Hindu-Muslim unity, I shall retort to it: “No my friend, I shall give up Swaraj, but not Hindu-Muslim unity, for if Swaraj is delayed, it will be a loss for India, but if Hindu-Muslim unity is lost, it will be a loss for the whole of mankind.”

The events leading upto and following the Government of India Act of 1935, the elections of 1937 and the formation of popular governments in the provinces have been the subject of historians’ research and analysis. For these studies, Maulana Saheb’s views on those events are of great significance. As you are all aware, the Muslim League did relatively well in the elections held in UP. It was the general expectation that after the elections the Congress and the League would work together. Maulana Saheb visited UP and held discussions with the two leading Leaguers—Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman and Mirza Ismail Khan who assured Maulana Saheb of total co-operation with the Congress. Maulana Saheb took note of this and of the expectation of these

two gentlemen that they should be taken into the Ministry. Maulana Saheb was even given a signed note to this effect and the stage seemed set for a joint ministry with these two League leaders in it. Later, however, they were informed by the Congress that only one of them could be taken into the ministry. Maulana Saheb writes: "This was a most unfortunate development. If the League's offer of co-operation had been accepted, the Muslim League party would for all practical purposes merge with the Congress.... All students of Indian politics know that it was from the UP that the League was reorganised. Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan."

History will judge as to whether Maulana Saheb's assessment is right. But in any event, the episode shows how genuine was Maulana Saheb's wish to forge League-Congress links in the interests of Indian unity and how generous he was even in the hour of Congress's triumph at the polls.

Maulana Saheb's breadth of vision, complete freedom from communal bias and sense of fair play can, similarly, be gleaned from his observations on the exclusion of Nariman of Bombay and Dr Syed Mahmud of Bihar from the office of Premier in those Provinces. He was in favour of choosing the leader of the Party untrammelled by considerations of caste, religion or local sentiment. I had the privilege of close association with Nariman as a member of the panel of lawyers who went to Malaya and Singapore to defend the Indian nationals in 1946. I was a young hopeful Congressman and he, a bitter critic of the Congress. He felt that the Congress had betrayed its basic commitment to secularism. Nariman was all praise for the Maulana whom he regarded as a truly national leader. One cannot say whether these two incidents really tarnished the image of the Congress in the minds of the minorities or made them lose faith in the organisation.

Congress met in Ramgarh in Bihar in March 1940, with Maulana Saheb presiding, once again. His presidential address revealed love of Islam and of liberty; his confidence that the Islamic *qaum* would be secure in a free India, as well as his faith in India's oneness. Maulana Saheb's address contained some extraordinary passages. I will quote but one piece thereof:

"It was India's historic destiny that many human races and cultures and religions should flow to her, and that many a caravan should find rest here.... One of the last of these caravans was that of the followers of Islam. This came here and settled here for good. We brought our treasures with us, and India too was full of the riches of her own precious heritage. We gave her what she needed most, the most precious of gifts from Islam's treasury, the message of human equality. Full eleven centuries have passed by since then. Islam has now as great a claim on the soil of India as Hinduism."

That passage represents not just a political stand that was relevant in that particular phase of the struggle, but a social philosophy that we will do well to remember always.

Maulana Saheb's contributions to the struggle and to national unity in the

Congress Working Committee and in the various informal negotiations that took place during the advance to freedom continued to be decisive. In the Congress's negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, his values and commitment shone with particular resplendence. Cripps had offered dominion status after the War and an immediate induction of Congress and League members in government but with the right of every province to secede from the Union. Along with Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, Azad opposed the Cripps proposals as "a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity". Under Azad's stewardship, the Congress Working Committee formally rejected the Cripps offer.

'Quit India' became the new mantra. Bombay in August 1942, was an ocean of humanity. Indeed, of revolutionary humanity. 'Do or Die' was the slogan on everyone's thoughts, everyone's lips. The image of Maulana Azad standing on the rostrum at Gowalia Tank, Bombay, on 8 August 1942, is indelibly etched in our psyche. He looked and was a tribune, a sentinel and a herald—not just of India's freedom but of India's unity; not just of the yet-to-be-born nation that is Bharat, but the ageless civilization that is Hindustan.

Gandhiji was arrested after the historic Quit India resolution and taken to Poona; Maulana Saheb, the Congress President and the entire Working Committee were arrested and confined in Ahmednagar fort. There, in the darkness of his cell, the fire of his revolutionary ardour once again yielded place to the lamp of his scholarship. Maulana Saheb read and wrote prodigiously during that term of imprisonment.

In the meantime, Maulana Saheb's wife, the brave Zuleikha, fell grievously ill. One day, his jail superintendent handed Maulana Saheb a telegram. It informed him that his life-partner had passed away. "Though my determination did not desert me", he has written, "it seemed as if my feet had no strength left on them". It is another of those coincidences that during his incarceration during the same time, the Mahatma has lost *his* life-companion, Kasturba. I believe that the deaths of Zuleikha and Kasturba during the Quit India incarcerations of their husbands constituted an incontrovertible indictment of British rule in India and more: it put the stamp of sacrifice on Indian womanhood, in both its Islamic and its Vaishnavite aspects.

During this historic incarceration of Congress leaders, the 'Two-nation Theory' of the Muslim League came to be vigorously enunciated by Jinnah. Maulana Saheb was implacably opposed to it and viewed the demand for partition of India as an unnatural distortion and an admission of failure of the cherished concept of Indian nationhood. Since the Muslim League had made a big issue of opposing any non-League Muslim both in the parleys at Simla and in the Coalition Government, Maulana Saheb made a personal sacrifice by giving up the Congress Presidentship. He wanted the progress towards Independence to be smooth and desired to avert partition at any cost. He would have even preferred the postponement of the Independence of the country to its vivisection and he said as much at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on 14 June 1947, which voted in favour of partition. If

this political defeat had to be accepted, Maulana Saheb said “we should at the same time try to ensure that our culture is not divided.”

It is clear that Maulana Azad was not only this century's most articulate votary of Hindu-Muslim unity but also the only one who claimed Quranic sanction for his faith in that unity. This was his singular contribution.

Anthropologists tell us that the origin of the present multiracial people of India can be traced to eight racial types. From the beginning of human history, there has been a unparalleled assimilative and absorptive faculty in the general populace of this land. Vincent Smith, in his *Oxford History of India* says: “India, beyond all doubt, possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty.”

The ‘divide’ and rule policy of the British, as we all know, was successful to the extent that the nation had finally to be divided. But, in a very essential sense, the tactic failed because the reins of free India passed into the hands of a sagacious leadership which rose above religion, creed or class and established a secular democracy based on social justice.

This leadership envisaged a Federal Government for India, with a strong Centre, distributing legislative power between the Union and the States, so as to meet the needs of local aspiration and national integrity.

The militant movements in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and some North-Eastern States seen against the backdrop of events in the former USSR and Yugoslavia have raised doubts in certain minds as to whether India will be able to maintain its unity and integrity for long. Gibbons, in his monumental work, *The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* said that every nation has birth, growth, resplendency, degeneracy and decay. History has shown that city states transform themselves into nation States, then march on to become empires, thereafter degenerate and disintegrate. These are generalizations and are not applicable to every case. Looking back at the history of India from prehistoric to modern times, a diligent observer will notice that the cultural unity of India has continued throughout its long history despite several onslaughts from divisive forces. Whether they be the sacred shrines or the holy rivers, a religio-cultural grid unites India. Likewise, mosques and Gurudwaras of renown and respect are scattered all over the country and the pious think in terms of their homogeneity.

On the secular plane, the people of India since Independence have enjoyed the privilege of partaking in the mineral and material wealth distributed all over the country without let or hindrance. India is, in extent, equal to the whole of Europe barring Russia. We see the struggle these countries have had to undergo in order to create a common market, a common currency, free travel and so on. Thanks to our underlying unity, India is already the biggest common market with abundant rights vesting in each part to participate in and benefit from developments in every other part of the country. All right-thinking people are convinced that a single India will help the people to enjoy a higher standard of life than what an India split into warring units could ever hope to do. During the four decades of Planning, balanced

regional development has helped backward States to march forward even though regional imbalances still continue to plague the economy. With all these considerations ringing in their conscience, it is inconceivable that the divisive forces will ever succeed in India.

At the same time, it is prudent to take note of the changing moods of the people in India as elsewhere. Man's urge for freedom reflects itself in several facets such as political institutions, economic regimen and social status. The urge for a greater say manifests itself increasingly these days, be it in the Panchayat institutions, or the State's affairs; be it in economic, social or other activities. Hence the growing demand for greater devolution of power and authority by the States has to be taken note of and accommodated, if we are to hold in check the divisive forces in society. The Constitution of a country has to grow with the changing needs of society and absorb progressive trends so as to reflect the will of the people. I am sure the Central authority in India will respond to the wishes of the people and act betimes.

I once again thank the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for giving me the chance to share my thoughts with you today on the subject of Indian unity. I regard it a privilege that I have been able to do so in the hallowed memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

Vasantrao Naik

I AM EXTREMELY happy to have this opportunity of unveiling the statue of the late Vasantrao Naik, an old friend and contemporary of mine in State politics. I pay my respectful homage to this illustrious Chief Minister of Maharashtra and a noble son of India.

Shri Naik had the longest tenure as the Chief Minister of this premier State, from December 1963 to February 1975. I am informed that the Golden Jubilee Celebration Committee of the Maharashtra Legislature had decided to install the statue of Shri Naik in the premises of both its Council Halls in Bombay and at Nagpur. The statue at the Council Hall, Nagpur, where the Winter Session of the State Legislature is held every year, was unveiled by the Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao in March this year. I consider it my good fortune to have the opportunity to unveil Shri Naik's statue at the Council Hall premises in the State capital here.

The moorings of Shri Naik's illustrious career were laid by his father, Phulsingrao Naik. Though unlettered, this well to do but progressive farmer from the Banjara nomadic tribe exposed his younger son to modern education and patriotic sentiments.

Shri Naik joined the Indian National Congress in 1946. Starting from Presidentship of the Municipal Council of Pusad in Yavatmal district, he worked his way up in public life by sheer dint of merit. He was elected to the State Legislative Assembly in 1952, and held the important portfolio of Minister of Co-operation in the Cabinet of the late Shri Yashwantrao Chavan, who was the first Chief Minister of Maharashtra. In 1963, he took on the onerous burden of the Chief Ministership of the State himself.

Vasantrao Naik's long years as Chief Minister of the State will always be remembered for the green revolution he ushered in in the State. Himself a progressive farmer, he succeeded, through a remarkable combination of personal example and public propaganda, to persuade the farmers to use hybrid and high-yielding varieties of seeds, and inputs like fertilizers and pesticides. His arduous efforts in this field, rightly prompted Shri Yashwantrao Chavan to give him the title of the 'Great Campaigner'. During his tenure Maharashtra experienced the hybrid jowar and cotton revolution, yielding unprecedented quantities per acre. This green revolution helped in tiding over the acute scarcity spells in 1965-67 and 1971-73.

Under his leadership the State introduced the novel scheme of procurement of jowar and paddy, ensuring remunerative prices to the farmers and its distribution through fair prices to the consumers. Emboldened by its success, Shri Naik also introduced the scheme for monopoly purchase of cotton that delivered growers from exploitation at the hands of unscrupulous middlemen.

Most importantly of all, Shri Vasantrao Naik pioneered the Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) in the State, conferring the right of employment on every able-bodied rural adult. This far-sighted scheme proved to be a model to be emulated both by other States and at the national level. Apart from providing employment, especially to the rural landless in the lean farming seasons, the EGS has created durable and viable community assets like roads, small irrigation and percolation tanks, farm bundings, afforestation and the like.

It was on the recommendations of Shri Naik, as contained in the Naik Committee report on democratic decentralization, that the solid foundations of the Panchayati Raj in Maharashtra were laid. This decentralization provided for people's direct participation in their developmental administration at district, taluka and village levels. It also provided valuable training for young leaders in preparing themselves for the responsibilities ahead.

Before the States' reorganization, the Maharashtrians were split into two eretwhile Provinces, Bombay and the Central Provinces with its headquarters in Nagpur. In the unification of Maharashtra and the merger of the greater part of the Central Provinces with Maharashtra, Shri Naik played a significant part. He was the champion of the Samyukta Maharashtra movement and worked tirelessly for the cause. Those of us who have lived through the period of States' reorganization are aware of the trials and tribulations the statesmen of those days had to pass through. Sri Naik's sagacious leadership was of immense value in bringing about the present State of Maharashtra.

Shri Vasantrao Naik was more than just a very capable Chief Minister. He

was a true gentleman, not only in deportment and manners but in his essential personality. His sophistication was not diminished by his rough-hewn pragmatism, while his pragmatism was enhanced by his graciousness and tact. In his person he effortlessly bridged the dichotomous worlds of the countryside and the city. Those who knew him will always remember his affability and accessibility. They would remember also the implacable resolve under the amiable exterior. I myself remember how strenuously he worked for the amelioration of the suffering during the Koyna earthquake in 1967, and during the unprecedented drought in the State in 1970–1973.

In the real sense of the term, Shri Naik was both a seer and a doer. His innovative spirit was matched by his magnanimity of heart and mind. He was rightly known as *ajaatasatru*, a person who has no enemies in public life.

For the citizens of Maharashtra, he stood like a *Sahyadri*, ever sensitive to their interests and well-being.

I am proud to dedicate Shri Vasantryao Naik's statue to the people of Maharashtra today. I am confident that his memory will forever inspire the people and the youth of the State and the country.

X
MISCELLANEOUS

Making the Police More Humane

I AM HAPPY to be in your midst on the occasion of the inauguration of the 'Delhi Police Day' series. May I extend my greetings and felicitations to the officers and men of the Delhi Police and its women personnel, who are rendering an invaluable service to the people of Delhi.

The Delhi Police acquired a distinct identity on this day in the year 1948. Over the last four decades the Delhi Police has grown from a modest size to be the largest metropolitan police of the world. It has a force that is over 50,000 strong. It is called upon to meet a wide spectrum of challenges like traffic, law and order, drug abuse, terrorism, immoral traffic and so on.

Being the capital of the world's largest democracy, Delhi invariably feels the reverberations of each important political event in India. The Delhi Police is consequently faced with challenges of a somewhat unique kind apart from the normal duties of a metropolitan police.

From ancient times, governance has been based on the twin principles of *Dharma* and *Dhanda*. Our *Dharmasutras* speak of *Dhanda-niti* as an important ingredient of statecraft. References to police functions of the State occur in the *Mahabharata* and in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* which in fact spells out the police infrastructure in detail. And hence, when we celebrate a milestone such as this, we are in fact recognizing the criticality of one of the most universal pillars of the State.

Unfortunately, however, the colonial interregnum brought opprobrium on the image of the police. The British used the police in India to suppress the freedom movement and to rain blows on the finest specimens of humanity in the world like Lala Lajpat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Gobind Ballabh Pant, and a host of others. The police consequently earned a bad image for itself.

But we cannot continue to harp on the colonial past for all the shortcomings of the police today. There can be no excuses or explanations for the shortcomings. Free India's police has to live down its old colonial image and build for itself a new and wholesome reputation. Every member of the police today has joined the service after India won her Independence. You have to seize the initiative now and turn yourself into an organization which is wholly committed to high standards of efficiency and integrity.

Broadly speaking, the first task of a police force is to prevent crime and instil a sense of security in the community. For this it is necessary that the police should seek and secure the willing participation of the public in crime prevention. I would like to urge police personnel to regard themselves not as an entity outside and apart from society but as an organic part of Society; in fact, as its arms and legs. Equally, the public should also look upon the police as its own self in uniform.

Here, the promptitude in the matter of the correct registration of crime, timely visit to the scene of occurrence, speedy, honest and impartial investigation, will help win public confidence. I might add that the general spirit of service, especially to vulnerable sections, courteous behaviour and a willingness to enquire into complaints against errant policemen, will enhance the reputation of the police force. Our people recognize, appreciate and acknowledge every small service rendered to them. And I am sure the police, whether here in Delhi or elsewhere, will not fail to win and retain the gratitude of the people. The police in a free and progressive India is no longer an instrument of coercion and suppression but an instrument of service to the society. While dealing with various law and order situations every police officer's actions have to be tempered with compassion and restraint.

The force must, therefore, dedicate itself to the service of people and acquire a reputation for professionalism. The policeman—and police-woman—should be looked upon not just as an instrument of regulation but as a symbol of society's collective will. The police man in London or the 'bobby' as he is affectionately called is regarded by Londoners as their friend, philosopher and guide. The police should endeavour to build a similar reputation for them in our country.

In this context, it becomes necessary that the police force should establish its credibility in the public mind through an attitude of courtesy to every citizen, irrespective of his status, and through a reputation for efficiency and integrity.

The police should remember that in investigations, resort to third degree methods is a barbaric practice and should be totally eschewed. Above all, the police force itself should be free from crime and abuse of authority. It should realize that stray black sheep bring discredit to the entire force.

I would like to recall today the words of our first Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Addressing the Delhi Police on 19 March 1950, forty years ago Sardar Patel said:

“The prestige of the Government and the honour of the people depends to a great extent on the police. Your job is onerous, your responsibilities heavy, but it is an honourable job. It should be a great honour to be protectors of the life and property of lakhs of people....Whatever the provocation, I would appeal to you to remain cool. It is the prime duty of the police. He who loses his temper no longer remains a policeman. Those who are involved in wrong-doing or lose self-control should be treated as a doctor would treat the insane or the ill. That is the only way to gain increasing affection from the people. Everyone, from the youngest to the oldest, should be dealt with courteously but firmly. Your success in your work will bring honour to the Government and the people.”

It is gratifying that the Delhi Police has taken a number of steps in the broad direction spelt out to it by Sardar Patel. Among the more recent steps, is the inclusion of a large number of public men from all walks of life as

Special Police Officers. These Special Police Officers can play a vital role in narrowing the gap between the police and the community. They can bring public problems to the notice of the police through informal channels and thus, by redressal of public grievances, build greater goodwill for the police in the public.

I am glad to note that there are over 1,000 women in the police force in Delhi, handling a variety of responsibilities. Their participation brings greater credibility for the police force. It is good that women police have been entrusted with responsibilities, especially in the matter of investigating crimes against women. In this context, I would like to congratulate the Delhi Police on their imaginative scheme of imparting self-defence training to women police personnel.

The normal maintenance of the law and order and crime control in cities like Delhi is daunting enough in itself; but in the face of the challenges of religious intolerance and terrorism, the task of the police as such and the Delhi Police in particular has been rendered even more difficult.

India is a pluralistic society, with different languages, religions, social systems and sub-cultures. While this diversity, which is a special feature of our society is the real strength of India, it also makes it essential that an atmosphere of coexistence and tolerance be maintained. But, unfortunately, we have witnessed in recent times the rise of what is termed as religious fundamentalism. There is nothing either religious or fundamental about the motivations of the elements concerned, whose sole aim seems to be the acquisition of illegitimate power and influence over our people. We are proud of our heritage of secularism and religious tolerance. The forces of communalism and fundamentalism which have emerged in some parts of the country do not represent the authentic Hindu, Muslim or Sikh ethos. They have neither the support of their respective scriptures nor the support of the masses. But being vocal, this element has a potential for mischief.

Terrorist violence is incompatible with the norms of democratic governance. It is repugnant to all norms of civilized behaviour. It should, therefore, be the endeavour of the people to co-operate and help the police in the onerous task of suppressing terrorism.

Today on 'Delhi Police Day' let every member of this force resolve to rededicate himself or herself to the service of the people and the nation.

International Law and India

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I associate myself with this inauguration of the new headquarters of the Indian Society of International Law. I would like to convey my sincere thanks to Judge R.S. Pathak for having extended this invitation to me. Judge Pathak is one of the eight founder members of the Society and it is a matter of deep satisfaction that he continues his association with the Society even after his new responsibilities have widened beyond the shores of our country.

My mind goes back today to the outstanding personalities who took their position at this Society's helm and guided its progress during the formative years, V.K. Krishna Menon and Gopal Swarup Pathak.

I had the privilege of working with them closely on the Indian delegations to several Sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Their skill and mastery over international law and conventions were greatly admired by the UN community. Between them they had often discussed the need for a body specializing in the growing complexities of international law.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to the vision and leadership of both Sri Krishna Menon and Sri G.S. Pathak. Both of them realized that a nation's ethos, for all its individuality, does not function in a vacuum and must interlock with the evolving trends of human thought. They also realized, equally, that world opinion especially when it takes the shape of consensus, accords and treaties must respect regional and national sentiments. Sri Krishna Menon and Sri G.S. Pathak were able to enlist the creative support of eminent persons in their exertions towards making this Society purposeful. I would like in this context to make a special mention to the late Dr Krishna Rao and Dr Nagendra Singh, both of whom brought to bear their expertise and erudition to the work in the Society.

The world community today is passing through a period of sweeping changes in the traditional concepts of the structure and functions of States. Countries committed to certain ideological structures are fast discarding policies held sacred till a few months back. New waves of liberalization in polity and economy are replacing the regimes which were controlled and regimented to subserve certain ideologies. Assertion of human rights and of the right to dissent are taking the place of rigid conformity and acceptance, willing or unwilling, of the dictate of the State. The changes through which the world is passing are so fundamental in nature and so sweeping in range that they may well be described as epochal in the history of man.

The dominating characteristic of this world phenomenon is an impressive acceleration in interdependence at every level: local, national, regional and global. In most of the areas that matter to human life and human living, there

is a tendency to greater unification in basic values, leading to an evolving approximation in the quality and direction of human development. As never before, science and technology are playing a vital role, and the challenges of change seek innovative answers daily from human ingenuity and wisdom.

To meet those challenges mankind must rely on the only peaceful regulatory system known to it—the system of regulation by law. For law moves by principle and not by arbitrary choice, and by its impersonal presence inspires both general confidence and the prospect of regular sustained growth. In the age of today, the law must possess an especial dimension. It must be dynamic and vigorous, and possess that sufficiency of vision which will enable it to anticipate and respond to the problems of a modern awakened society. It must escape from the traditional narrow confines of mere dispute resolution and rise to the higher duty of management of human predicament. The social realities of our times demand the discharge of new responsibilities from both domestic and international law. Any shortfall in that department is bound to raise a degree of well-grounded fear regarding the continued stability of the human order. It is, therefore, imperative for the maintenance and promotion of global peace that international law should evolve, in comprehensive dimension and adequate pace, so as to cope with the problems now taking birth. As the nations and peoples of the world come closer and as this interdependence is knit even more intimately with the passing of time, there is corresponding need to develop greater confidence in the institutions of the law.

From the beginning of this century, there has been notable and consistent progress in the creation and development of multilateral and global institutions, and we have reached a stage today where almost every aspect of daily life is influenced by their ubiquitous presence. And yet, there is always the danger that enough is not being done to recognize and understand the forces which have come into play; not enough is being done to identify the areas which remain uncovered or to see what can be done to raise the level and improve efficiency in the areas which appear to have been covered.

There has been substantial progress in the prohibition of the use of force, the prevention of war, the resolution of international conflicts, the development of the various dimensions of the concept of human rights, the preservation and protection of the environment, the redistribution and sharing of global resources and a new vision of what the oceans can offer.

Simultaneously, with the recognition of today's developing interdependence, we must acknowledge the existence of problems arising from the plural nature of global society, and of the need to adjust this undeniable plurality within the larger context of a global unity. Differences rooted in local history, ideological, social and economic cultures, and variant perspectives on basic values are reflected in the several facets of that plurality.

There is urgent need for a closer and deeper understanding of those problems, and the question is whether we are sufficiently organized and equipped to engage in that quest: whether the standards of study and intellectual enquiry in our institutions of research show that they are

adequately informed of their responsibilities. In the excessive fluidity characteristic of a climate of far-reaching change, a high level of statesmanship and leadership is called for.

And it is this that we must provide. There is need to make systematic studies of the problems of international law in their social, political, technological and psychological setting, of the nature and characteristics of inter-state relations and the elements controlling those relations, and the challenges and demands in regard to particular segments of international law.

The objective of international law is the establishment of peace with justice in the world. It is indeed the law of transition from anarchy which characterized international relations throughout history towards an organized world community. The goal cannot be achieved unless we recognize the unity and equality of man, practise tolerance, outlaw violence, act in good faith and adopt fair play, render mutual aid and respect the dignity of man. That we are moving, if somewhat slowly, towards the achievement of these ideals is beyond doubt. Apartheid is crumbling in South Africa, human rights are increasingly accepted, global action against hijacking had been initiated and so on. The urgent need of the hour is the outlawing of terrorism which is becoming a menace to civilized life. Lawyers engaged in pursuit of international law will have to come up with measures to combat the evils of terrorism. The Indian Society for International Law by virtue of the knowledge and talent its members possess is in a fit position to offer solutions to the problems that confront the world community.

I am confident that the Indian Society of International Law will take up the challenge. With the new premises now available to it, and the expectation of a stronger financial base, as well as an innovative structuring of its programmes and projects, it can play an important role in leading international law research in this part of the world.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the new headquarters of the Indian Society for International Law.

Applying Law in a Humane Manner

I AM VERY happy to be with you today to deliver the valedictory address on the completion of the training course of the 42nd batch of the Indian Revenue Service. I recall that I came here in 1981 when I was the Union Finance Minister to inaugurate this campus. During the intervening nine years, the sapling that was planted had grown into a flourishing tree and I am delighted

to see all-round progress made by this National Academy of Direct Taxes (NADT). The Director General of the Academy has indicated the several directions in which the NADT has grown and I congratulate the Academy on the substantial progress achieved.

The quality of any Service largely depends on the quality of its manpower. For ensuring that the best human resource inputs are available, it is essential that the best manpower is recruited. It is equally essential that the best manpower thus recruited is fully developed through proper training at all levels. Training thus assumes paramount importance for the growth and development of the most vital part of the organization, viz, human resources and, in turn, of the organization itself. Tax administration is a complex job; it needs a special type of training and I am glad to know that this Academy is fully equipped for this purpose. This Academy along with its satellite Regional Training Institutes and Ministerial Staff Training Units is fully equipped and geared to meet the entire training requirements of the officers and staff of the Income-Tax Department.

The worth of an officer is judged with reference to his capacity to perform his functions ably, diligently, without fear or favour. In the case of a tax administrator, the successful performance of his duties enjoins upon him to act as an investigator, as a prosecutor and also as a judge, all at the same time. This constitutes both a challenge and a commitment.

As tax administrators, it is not enough that you possess knowledge of the Income-Tax Act and other Direct Taxes Acts. You have to know the provisions of the Hindu Law, the Transfer of Property Act, the Contract Act, the Partnership Act and several other enactments because, without such knowledge, you cannot be an efficient component of the Indian Revenue Service. But knowledge of law by itself is not adequate for the satisfactory discharge of your duties. You have also to possess an intensive training in Book-keeping and Accountancy to be able to appreciate and understand the intricacies of accounts maintained by the businessmen, professionals and others in regard to their income or wealth. Further, you should be able to investigate and analyze facts and cross-examine tax payers and witnesses and in this respect you should have the skills of a practising advocate. Moreover, you should be just and fair like a judge and levy only the correct amount of tax according to law—neither more nor less. In cases of concealment and fraudulent evasion of taxes, you are also a prosecutor and you, therefore, need specialized training for safeguarding the revenues of the Government.

A nation's fiscal system is not merely a revenue collection outfit but an instrument of achieving social objectives. Glaring inequalities in income and wealth and increasing burdens on the weaker sections by regressive taxation are the forerunners of a social revolution. Direct taxes are the best tools for reduction of disparities and for ensuring an equalitarian society. Evasion of direct taxes, therefore, not only hurts the revenues of the country but thwarts the social objectives of the State. As direct tax administrators, you have the onerous responsibility of administering the law in tune with the social objectives.

Your duty is not to extract the maximum revenue for the State but collect the legitimate dues and help the assessee to pay neither more nor less than his legitimate tax. For carrying out these multifarious functions, elaborate and intensive training is imperative and I am happy to note that this Academy endeavours to provide such training to the Probationers of the Indian Revenue Service.

It is important to remember that an assessee is entitled to fair and decent treatment. Courtesy, politeness and good behaviour will never stand in the way of your performance. They will rather enhance the confidence of people in you. What the public at large expect of an officer in your service is not concessions but application of laws and regulations in a humane manner so that they can discharge their legal liabilities quickly and without any fear or harassment. It is a useful motto to keep before you that you cannot tax and please but you need not tax and tease.

Though your main function is to deal with tax laws you have also responsibilities as the civil servant in a democracy. You are expected to discharge your duties in the spirit of service to the nation and to its people. This ethos can be developed only through devotion to duty and absolute integrity. The goal of public welfare cannot be attained unless public administration is based on moral and ethical values. This is particularly true in the case of department like yours which has a major interface with the public. Reorientation of the attitude of administration can be brought about by promoting an appreciation of the need for ethical norms among the individuals who constitute the core of public administration. This has to necessarily start on the very day a person launches on a public career. One has to maintain high standards of conduct both in public and personal life. A Government servant, no doubt, needs privacy outside of his office but his private life cannot altogether be segregated from his public image. His conduct in private directly or indirectly impinges on the performance of his public duty. Therefore, I place this thought before you that your conduct in private should measure up to the strictest standards and norms laid down by the Father of the Nation, Gandhiji.

In one sense your official training in this Institution has come to an end. But in another sense, as you leave the cloistered confines of this Institute and take your first firm step formally in your career you will soon realize the fact that the learning process in the sense of imbibing true values never comes to an end. Right from the beginning of your career, you should acquire a reputation of a sincere, hard-working, honest officer. The temptations strewn in your path will be many. But true greatness comes only to those who do their duty without yielding to temptations. You should be firm in taking the correct decisions. But firmness does not mean arrogance. You have to be firm but polite and receptive to public needs and sensitivities under all circumstances. The task of a tax collector is by no means easy. Unfortunately, people do not enjoy paying taxes. It should be your endeavour to make payment of taxes less painful by your approach and attitude.

I am sure you have all a very bright future ahead of you in public service.

The Indian Revenue Service to which you belong has a pivotal role to play in mobilizing resources for the development of the country. A very onerous responsibility is cast upon the younger generation of officers like you and I have no doubt that you will fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the Government and the nation. I wish you all success and prosperity in your career and your life.

Road—the Vital Link of Development

IT GIVES ME immense pleasure to inaugurate the Manu-Chamanu-Gobindbari Road. I would like to congratulate the Border Roads Organisation and the Government of Tripura on creating this splendid facility.

I understand this road will provide another 59 km by way of a road link to the Tripura State, thereby reinforcing its transport and communications network.

Roads are the arteries of life. Centuries ago, Emperor Ashoka spoke of a network of roads linking different parts of his vast empire. His rock edict III goes, in fact, even beyond the laying of roads to their use:

“For the use of men and
cattle, trees have been
grown and wells dug
on the roads.”

The British, for reasons that were not always edifying, continued the ancient commitment to an all-India grid of roads. Lord William Bentinck, a great believer in good communications, caused the modern road from Bombay to Pune to be laid in 1830. Lord Dalhousie kept up the momentum by sanctioning the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Peshawar and Lord Curzon had roads laid in the inhospitable terrain of the North-West Frontier. But the north-east remained neglected. After Independence, however, roads acquired a priority.

My thoughts go back today to September 1956, when I was a Member of the First Lok Sabha and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Minister for Transport, was piloting the National Highway Bill. That piece of legislation was both literally and metaphorically, a path-breaking enactment. It was characteristic of the thrust of the First Parliament which, with foresight and determination, laid the foundations for the nation's future growth.

Our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru captured the essence of the times in an observation he made at about that time: “When we undertake a

big work we have to do so with a large heart and large mind. Small minds or small-minded nations cannot undertake big works. When we see big works our stature grows with them and our minds open out a little.”

This Manu-Chamanu-Gobindbari Road is an example of a big work undertaken in a manner worthy of the purpose.

It is a truism that a country as vast as India requires a network of roads to link its different parts. But the need for good communications and roads is most pressing in this hilly terrain.

This Manu-Chamanu-Gobindbari Road has been constructed by the Border Roads Organisation under the North-East Council's development programmes. The completion of this road link has been possible only because of the sustained and dedicated hard work of the personnel of the Border Roads Organisation in this remote area. The Border Roads Organisation deserves the congratulations and praise of all of us for the fine work done by its personnel despite the challenges of adverse terrain and conditions.

Roads programmes demand constant and continuous attention. One cannot at any time say that the programme has been completed. Mud roads cry to be metalled. Metalled roads need to be surfaced, surfaced roads need to be widened with two lanes, four lanes and more lanes. They become unusable unless maintained regularly and renewed from time to time.

In April 1983, I had occasion (as Raksha Mantri) to speak at a conference of Chief Engineers of the Border Roads Organization. I would like to share with this audience today a thought which I shared with them: It is very important to spread the culture of project administration in the matter of roads-laying. Time is the essence of project administration as time over-run inevitably leads to cost over-run. Further, delays in the execution of infrastructural projects like roads also affect progress in the setting up and commissioning of other projects in the areas. The importance of this aspect should be appreciated fully as road projects are projects of economic importance. Each road work should be seen as a project, its planning taken as a strictly time-and-cost-bound matter and the progress of work be so monitored that slippages in time and cost do not take place.

Our roads have to take into account the type of present and future vehicular patterns and, most important, local ecology. In hilly areas, road-laying must not spell deforestation. Soil conservation and protection of side-slopes should go hand in hand with road-laying.

Before I conclude, I would like to quote a passage from Hilaire Belloc:

“Not only is the Road one of the great human institutions because it is fundamental to social existence, but also because its varied effect appears in every department of the State. It is the Road which determines the sites of many cities and the growth and nourishment of all. It is the Road which controls the development of strategies and fixes the sites of battles. It is the Road which gives its framework to all economic development. It is the Road which is the channel of all trades and, what is more important, of all ideas. In its most humble function it is a necessary guide without which

progress from place to place would be a ceaseless experiment; it is a sustenance without which organized society would be impossible; thus and with those other characters I have mentioned, the Road moves and controls all history.”

I am sure this road and the other life line roads in Tripura will all play this role.

With these words I dedicate this Manu-Chamanu-Gobindbari Road to the people of Tripura.

A Vibrant City

IT IS WITH great pleasure that I join all of you at the inauguration of the ‘Calcutta-300 Exhibition’. May I extend my cordial felicitations to the people of Calcutta on the occasion of the tercentenary of their historic city. I would also like to express my thanks to the Chief Minister, Sri Jyoti Basu, for his kind invitation to me to participate in the celebration of this important anniversary.

Tradition has it that Calcutta—Kalikata—is named after the great Mother Goddess, Kali. A mother can never refuse anything to her children. Calcutta has not. To her proud Hindu heritage has been added, over a period of time, its invaluable Islamic legacy. The city’s famous Nakhoda mosque has for decades been the venue of faith as well as wisdom; joint Hindu-Muslim meetings have been held in this mosque in the interest of communal harmony.

Besides, Calcutta has a rich Christian legacy. Even as early as 1875, there were 21 churches and chapels listed in the city. Calcutta’s St. Paul’s Cathedral is a monument of faith as much as of stone. Rev. C.F. Andrews had a special association with this city; Mother Teresa is today a living embodiment of Christian compassion. In course of time, other religious influences and populations such as the Armenian and Judaic have come here, adding new facets to its personality. The city has, over the centuries, continued to draw people to her from all corners. From across the borders of India, came the Chinaman and set up Calcutta’s China Town. And from the West, arrived the indomitable Pathan whom Rabindranath Tagore has immortalized in his beautiful tale, *The Kabuliwala*. The enterprising Marwari has come here as has the hardworking Sikh and the Bihari. All these people have made Calcutta a cosmopolitan city enriched by variegated cultures, customs and traditions.

As you are all aware, Calcutta was made India’s capital city in 1772. The decision in 1912, to shift the capital made little difference to Calcutta.

Calcutta, the Queen of cities, became from that moment onwards the Queen Mother of Indian cities—a status no one can ever take away from her.

Calcutta and Bengal have been pioneers in the Indian renaissance movement of the 18th and 19th centuries. It used to be said what Bengal thinks today, the world will follow tomorrow. Whether it be the Hindu revival under Ramakrishna and his brilliant disciple, Swami Vivekananda, or the social reform movement of Raja Rammohun Roy, Calcutta has been the home of progressive thought and thinkers.

Eminent leaders of the Indian renaissance like Ishwar Chandra Vidya-sagar, and of the Brahmo Samaj Movement such as Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen, writers like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, who gave us the slogan of 'Vande Mataram' and the exceptionally talented Tagore family flourished in the congenial atmosphere of Calcutta.

For those countless Indians who were swept into freedom movement, Calcutta remains, above all, the Gangotri of India's political awakening. This city has been the venue of some of the most historic sessions of the Indian National Congress such as the ones presided over by all-India leaders of Himalayan stature such as Dadabhai Naoroji in 1886; Pherozeshah Mehta in 1890; Dr Annie Besant in 1917; Lala Lajpat Rai in 1920 and Pandit Motilal Nehru in 1928.

The very first President of the Indian National Congress, was the Calcutta-born W.C. Bonnerji. Other distinguished Calcuttans have held that office—thereby becoming household names all over India—such as Surendranath Banerjea, Romesh Chander Dutt, and Deshbandu Chittaranjan Das, of ever green memory. Along with other patriots like Bipin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghose who were pioneers in the early phases of our national movement, Bengal has produced a galaxy of stars that will shine for eternity in the history of our freedom struggle.

Calcutta has been imprinted on the nation's psyche through the lives of two other outstanding national leaders as well: the incomparable Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Calcutta itself can never forget the capacity for organization and executive ability displayed by the young Subhas when he served as Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation under the Mayoralty of C.R. Das. Likewise, Maulana Azad's founding of the Urdu Weekly *Al-Hilal* from Calcutta in 1912 began not just a chapter in nationalist journalism but a new phase of Hindu-Muslim co-operation.

Equally memorable are the ties of this city with the growth and development of the trade union movement in India and of the Indian Left. Among those, who were directly and vitally connected with the city, were Muzaffar Ahmed, Somnath Lahiri, Abdul Halim and Bankim Mukherjee who was a contemporary of that remarkable leader and Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr Bidhan Roy. Happily, some early leaders of the Communist Party who have been associated with Calcutta, like Prof. Hiren Mookherjee, are still with us.

Calcutta has been the home of India's renaissance in the fields of culture.

Apart from the immortal Rabindranath Tagore, others like Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and Kazi Nazrul Islam functioned from here. Nazrul Islam's services both as a nationalist writer and a musician of surpassing talent will ever be remembered by the nation. Then again, Calcutta nurtured writers like Ramnidhi Gupta and Michael Madhusudan; painters like Jamini Roy and Nandalal Bose; singers and dancers such as S.D. Burman, Pankaj Mallick, Uday Shankar and Amala Shankar.

The theatre and cinema have found in Calcutta a natural home. Calcutta's theatrical and cinematic presentations have brought to it not only national but international recognition. And Calcutta has pioneered nationalist journalism in India through *Jugantar* and *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*. The number of dailies and journals in Bengali and English produced from here continues to grow, almost by the month.

If Calcutta has sustained the arts, this city has also borne and nurtured scientific minds of the highest calibre like Mahendralal Sarkar, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Acharya P.C. Roy, Meghnad Saha and Satyendranath Bose. Here in Calcutta the tree of education has flowered, thanks to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee's vision and, that of his remarkable son, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee. Calcutta has retained its stature on the map of Indian science institutions. Apart from several pioneering institutions for medical research such as Calcutta's School for Tropical Medicine, the Chittaranjan National Cancer Research Centre and the National Institute of Cholera and Enteric Diseases, Calcutta has also made its mark through research centres of all India significance, set up in the recent past. These include the Variable Energy Cyclotron Centre of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, and the Satyendranath Bose National Centre for Basic Sciences.

It is to Calcutta's credit that it not only fostered the genius of its own sons, but also invited men of calibre from outside. Calcutta's Presidency College was, for instance, second home to two South Indian masterminds, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and C.V. Raman. And it was in this College that our first President, Dr Rajendra Prasad studied, coming first class first in his B.A. (Honours) examination.

The nation recalls with admiration the role of Calcutta in another major arena of our renaissance: the emancipation of Indian womanhood. The Bethune College for Women became as much a symbol of education as of the freeing of women from their traditional home-bound roles. It is our good fortune to have amidst us some of the women pioneers, such as Renuka Ray, Phulrenu Guha, and Renu Chakravarty.

Equally notable was the inspiration which those of us in the law received from the glorious record of the Calcutta Bar and the Calcutta High Court Bench.

Having been at the helm of India's social, political and cultural renaissance, Calcutta could not have lagged behind in India's industrial revival. Those who have been observing Calcutta over the decades will recall how it has suffered several economic crises. Jute mills, which were the mainstay of Calcutta's economy, suffered a rude shock during the partition in 1947. And yet

Calcutta survived the shock. New industrial units have come up since then. Today Calcutta is the venue of new ventures in fields of contemporary importance like electronics, chemicals and plastics. The electronics complex in the Salt Lake and the Haldia petro-chemical complex are major symbols of Calcutta's industrial dynamism. Bengal at one time held the top position among the industrialized States in India and the share of Calcutta in the glory was unmistakable. The volume of cargo movement being handled at Calcutta Port swells and the city is now a significant entry point for imports for its new industries.

And so this city of academic institutions and libraries of note, industrial and scientific ventures and a continuously self-sustaining cultural tradition, is assured a place of pride in India's life.

The secret of this lies in the fact that Calcutta is a city that looks ahead. Calcutta has an almost unique capacity to rise above its daily problems and preoccupations. I am not unaware of the innumerable problems of housing, water and power supplies, transport and influx of refugees. And yet, there is something about Calcutta and about its ethos that makes it overcome its despairs. The fact that sports occupy so central a place in Calcutta's life speaks for itself. Any other city faced with the problems of Calcutta would have sunk into self-pity. But Calcutta always faces and overcomes the challenge.

The 'Calcutta-300 Exhibition' I have the honour to inaugurate today will depict the historical growth of the city, and encapsulate all aspects which I have referred to so far. It will give a visual presentation of the greatness of the city and its people and the way in which these have been developed over hundreds of years. It will not only be of great educative value to the children and youth of the country but to all those who have the benefit of visiting the exhibition. Exhibitions teach the viewers in a few hours, things which they cannot learn from years and years of study.

I compliment the organizers for making the exhibition a part of the tercentenary celebrations of the Calcutta city and wish them all success.

Forging International Understanding

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the new building of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. May I felicitate the Institute on acquiring this useful facility. I am sure the building will add an exponential value to the work of the Indian section of the Institute.

The initiative for setting up this Institute arose during the visit to Canada by our late Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. It is, therefore, appropriate that this collaborative organization of two large democracies has been named after that democrat, scholar and fervent advocate of international understanding. As some of you may be aware, Shri Shastri derived his surname from the degree of 'Shastri'—one versed in the Shastras—secured by him on the completion of his studies of philosophy and the humanities at the Kashi Vidyapeeth. Shri Shastri's scholarship was as deep as it was self-effacing. It was rooted in India's vedic tradition which believes in the principle of *Vasudheiva Kutumbakam*—the world is one family. Lal Bahadur Shastri made a significant contribution to the promotion of international understanding and this major venture reflects that spirit.

History has a way of bringing widely different countries close to each other. India and Canada, for instance, received voyagers from Europe, linking us to the history of world colonialism. As countries with ethnic, cultural and religious plurality, both India and Canada opted for a democratic order. As members of the Commonwealth, Canada and India have co-operated in several areas for the promotion of human welfare.

My illustrious predecessor Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, when invited to inaugurate an exhibition of Canadian art at the Commonwealth Institute in London in 1963 said: "The British Commonwealth is not an economic bloc or a political association; it is an assembly of free nations of the world, having their own domestic policies and foreign policies and yet co-operating one with another to work for the progress of mankind."

India and Canada have worked in unison in the United Nations on major questions relating to the developing countries. Over the decades, we have admired the role played by Canada and Canadian statesmen such as Lester Pearson in building bridges of understanding between the developed and developing world.

Our trade and economic relations have constituted a strong link between our two nations. Our technological collaborations have been impressive and Canada has also participated in the Indian Engineering Trade Fair. Through the Colombo Plan and elsewhere, Canada and India have co-operated in a variety of sectors. Canada has been assisting a number of hydroelectric projects in South India, notably in the Kundah project in Tamil Nadu and the Idukki project in Kerala. Similar examples of co-operation between the two countries in power, drainage and forestry are to be found in Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.

But more important than these tangible testimonies of our co-operation are the many-layered affinities of the mind that link the peoples of our two democracies.

In this context I am glad to learn that this building is to house a library of Canadian literature. Our happy experience with the libraries of the British Council, the USIS and Max Mueller Bhavan is a sure pointer to the success and usefulness that awaits this library of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute.

The Shastri Institute has supported and promoted the advancement of

knowledge and understanding of India through studies in the fields of humanities and social sciences in Canadian universities. I understand that as many as four hundred thousand Indian publications have been sent to member universities in Canada to enhance an understanding of India's culture, economy, history, polity, religion and technology among Canadian students and scholars. Several eminent Indian academics and prominent Indians from other fields are regularly invited to Canada to participate in seminars, conferences, and to give public lectures on India. These are impressive accomplishments.

I am happy to learn that in a corresponding exercise, the Institute has been undertaking a variety of programmes to inculcate a greater awareness about Canada and Canadian studies among Indian scholars. Recognizing the growing interest among Indian scholars in Canadian studies, the University Grants Commission has recently allocated substantial funds for Canadian studies programmes in major Indian universities.

Distance education is an important area where India and Canada can benefit from the knowledge and experience of each other. Whereas the conventional system of higher education is formal and rigidly structured, and also expensive in terms of infrastructure and manpower required, distance education is less formal and more flexible and can cover a large number of students without requiring the expensive physical infrastructure. Canada, I believe, has a very well developed system of distance education, extending the benefits of distance education to the far corners of that large country with the help of modern mass communication techniques. The interest taken by Canada in promotion of distance education in other parts of Commonwealth resulted in the establishment of Commonwealth of Learning at Vancouver in 1987 for promoting co-operation in distance education among Commonwealth countries. We look forward to a closer association of Canada and India in the field of distance education in the years to come.

India has made significant progress in the field of education in the last four decades since Independence. Our literacy, however, stands at only 52 per cent of our population. We have undertaken a mass programme of adult literacy in the country with the direct involvement of the State Governments, educational institutions, voluntary agencies and all sections of the society. Many Canadian universities have been working in the field of adult education and it would be good if our universities could benefit from the expertise and experience gained by Canadian universities. The Shastri Institute can play an important role in arranging for exchange of experts in the field of adult education as an integral part of its academic programmes.

India and Canada are separated by many continents and seas. In a strictly geographical sense, Canada belongs to the West and India to the East. In the language of modern economics, Canada belongs to the North and India to the South. And yet, East and West, North and South are limited terms. Such compartments do not affect the realm of thoughts and ideas. Judaic, Greek, Roman and Christian thought is part of our consciousness here, even as the Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic and Confucian philosophies are the heritage of all

mankind. Human thought recognizes no borders. Art and culture are mankind's common possession. It was in the knowledge of this fundamental truth that India thought of the concept *Ekaiva Manusijatih*, namely, the human race is one.

This concept of universal brotherhood, based on mutual regard and respect, love and affection and freed from hatred and violence, prejudice and ill will, has yet to take root in our society.

Man-made boundaries are steadily losing significance in today's world. The recent changes in Europe which were so dramatically symbolized in the dismantling of the Berlin Wall have vivified this process. With incessant and revolutionary progress in the world of communications, the interdependence of the world is becoming even more of a reality. The concepts of racialism and colonialism which had dominated human thought for centuries are now receding to the past. The right to human dignity of the individual is now fully recognized. Universities and academic bodies the world over have led mankind in its journey towards an inclusive order.

I have no doubt that the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute is one of those academic bodies which will serve to integrate the world and usher in a new order where, in the words of Rabindranath Tagore:

The mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
And where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action."

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this new building of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute. I wish the Institute every success and usefulness.

A Place of Resplendent Nature

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to be with all of you today. I would, at the outset, like to extend my thanks to the Governor of West Bengal and to Shri Subash Ghisingh, for the warm welcome and hospitality I have received ever since my arrival in Darjeeling.

The friendliness of the people of Darjeeling is well-known. This is not my

first visit to this beauty spot and everytime I have come here, I have been deeply touched by their joyous and generous welcome.

Darjeeling is one of those spots in the world where resplendent nature and endearing human beings have made it a thing of beauty. The Himalayas have showered their choicest blessings on this region. Such attractive scenery and such clean mountain air are hardly found anywhere else in the world. The Kanchenjunga levitates in the skies like a sparkling diamond reminding us of the essential beauty and sanctity of all creation.

A place as tranquil as Darjeeling cannot but engender the finest human qualities. The people of Darjeeling have been known for the qualities of courage and loyalty, not just in India but the world over.

The nation takes great pride in the sacrifices made by these people in safeguarding the unity and integrity of the country and the contribution made by them in the tasks of nation building.

The valour of the Gorkha Regiments of the Indian Army forms a veritable legend in the annals of military history.

I am aware of the struggles of the people of this region in the last few years and of the tensions and tribulations which Darjeeling has had to pass through. Fortunately, the initiative taken by the late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the maturity of your Chief Minister, Shri Jyoti Basu and the active co-operation of Shri Subash Ghisingh saw a solution to the problem in terms of the formation of an autonomous Hill Council under a State Act within the framework of the Indian Constitution. This initiative has been taken essentially for the social, economic, educational and cultural advancements of the people of this area. This is a novel concept in the decentralization of power and in meeting the aspirations of the people.

I would like to take this opportunity to impress on Shri Ghisingh and the distinguished councillors of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council that the nation places high hopes and trust upon you to make this experiment a great success.

I am sure that the Council will bring all-round development to this region under the able leadership of Shri Subash Ghisingh with the full assistance and co-operation of the State Government and the Government of India.

I am well aware of the special problems which the people of Darjeeling face due to the nature of its terrain and its unpredictable environmental conditions.

A picturesque and salubrious place is often cut off from access to a number of modern facilities. The vehicles of progress take their own time to reach such places and this leads to a measure of discontent. However, I am sure that such feelings of dissatisfaction as may have existed in the Darjeeling region will soon be a thing of the past.

I once again take this opportunity to thank the people of Darjeeling, the Gorkha Hill Council and the State Government for the warmth of the hospitality extended to me. May this queen of hills producing high quality of premium tea known the world over and peopled by men of rare courage and chivalry, be blessed with everlasting peace and prosperity.

A Milestone in Indian Cricket

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to inaugurate the diamond jubilee celebrations of the Tamil Nadu Cricket Association. I would, at the outset, like to extend my cordial greetings and thanks to the doyens of cricket—both players and organizers—who are present on this happy occasion. Seeing the faces of so many familiar heroes and darlings of the turf, I feel transported to the days when we used to watch the Presidency matches between Europeans and Indians in the Chepauk grounds.

The Tamil Nadu Cricket Association is one of the founder associations of the Board of Control for Cricket in India. To that extent, the diamond jubilee celebrations are, in a way, the diamond jubilee celebrations of Indian cricket itself.

Cricket in Madras has always been well-organized, thanks to the extraordinary interest evinced by men like Dr P. Subbaroyan, one of the earliest Presidents of both the Madras Cricket Association and the Board itself. Dr Subbaroyan also had wide contacts with the foremost cricket personalities of the world and if Madras cricket has always been held in high esteem it is not a little due to Dr Subbaroyan's tireless work.

I would also like to recall the contribution made to Madras cricket by the famous Buchi Babu family. Buchi Babu Naidu's three illustrious sons, M. Venkatramanjulu, popularly known as 'Bhatt', M. Baliah and C. Ramaswamy, all left their indelible mark on Madras cricket. C. Ramaswamy went on to represent India in cricket and tennis. His big hitting was proverbial and next only to that of the great C.K. Nayudu, who was a frequent visitor to Madras.

The annual Pongal festival in Madras was always identified with a cricket match between the Indians and the Europeans. That cricket match was very much a part of the life of the citizens of Madras. Madras will always cherish the contribution made by the English residents of the city, particularly by stalwarts like C.P. Johnstone and H.P. Ward. Other names which come readily to my mind in connection with the development and promotion of cricket in South India are K.S. Ranga Rao, V. Panabiraman, S. Sriraman, who like Chidambaram, went on to head the Cricket Board of India, and the late R.T. Parthasarathy, a Member of Parliament and grandson of the distinguished Salem C. Vijayaraghavachariar.

It is a matter of pride for Madras Cricket that the first ball in the Ranji Trophy, the national cricket championship in memory of the greatest cricketing son of India, Ranjitsinhji, should have been bowled in Madras by the most familiar of all Madras cricketers, M.J. Gopalan, in the match between Madras and Mysore, as Karnataka was then called.

Men like Gopalan and A.G. Ram Singh from Amritsar, who perhaps knew as much Tamil as Punjabi, were regarded as idols during my time. It was the good fortune of Madras cricket that national leaders like Rajaji, S. Satyamurti and K. Kamaraj evinced no small interest in the game. The Tamil Nadu Government has always been generous in its help to the Association. Even my tight-fisted friend 'C.S.' who held the purse strings of the then Madras Government, relaxed his grip somewhat and gave his unstinted support to Madras cricket.

Other political colleagues of mine like Sri C.R. Pattabhiraman held the reins of Madras cricket for a long time before handing them over to the scion of the Chettinad family, M.A. Chidambaram, thanks to whose dynamism Chepauk has its lovely and magnificent stadium. It has most appropriately been named after him. I would also like to compliment *The Hindu* and the *Indian Express* on their excellent cricket news coverage. In particular, I would like to recall the reportage of the late S.K. Gurunathan and N.S. Ramaswamy.

Cricket has undergone great revolutions since those days of yore when it was confined to very few, some of whom were called 'gentlemen' and the others, 'players'. It used to be said in jest that the gentlemen were not players and the players were not gentlemen. The game has a rich lore, replete with several interesting anecdotes. In my time I used to hear of the good old Dr W.G. Grace, who once admonished an umpire for giving him out in the first ball, saying "all these people have come to watch me play, not you umpiring". On another occasion, the good Doctor, when he was clean bowled, calmly put the bails back on the stumps, exclaiming: "It's windy, isn't it?"

The late Majarajkumar of Vizianagram, better known as Vizzy, had several jokes even concerning himself. It was said in jest that when he went out to England as captain he used to reward the professional bowlers, who sent him long hops. One Brown was, however, known to have wailed before Lala Amarnath that despite bouncing the ball thrice, he had Vizzy's stumps shattered and lost a good packet.

I love cricket and I watch test matches in TV with absorbing interest even to the detriment of my official responsibilities. Though I have never been much of a player I admire all the nuances of the game and love discussing them with friends. I had to give up my amateurish cricket when I began to see two balls instead of one and hit soaring sixers of the wrong ball while the real one spreadeagled my stumps. The umpires were heartless and always wrong to me. When the slip caught the ball the umpire said I had played the ball and I was out. Another time the umpire said that I did not play the ball and I was out l.b.w. Were they not quite illogical? I am afraid I can play cricket only without an umpire.

Jokes apart, there is not the slightest doubt that the game has provided endless entertainment, both during the days when the game lasted many days, or now when instant cricket seems to be the order of the day.

The present generation seems to have a fascination for everything short. People now wear short coats and mini skirts instead of the long flowing robes,

cut their hair short, develop short sight and have short lives. No wonder that one-dayers are becoming more and more popular. This has resulted in noticeable changes in the game. The leisurely copy book batting is replaced by fast and adventurous scoring tactics. The spinners who commanded the scene after the wicket showed signs of wear after days of batting have to prove their skills even when the wicket is good. Renowned spinners like Bedi, Chandrasekar and Prasanna used to earn their wickets through the flight and spin of the ball.

Today Indian cricket is facing challenge from fast bowlers from West Indies, Australia, England and Pakistan. There is need for strengthening this department of the game.

I am glad to learn that serious efforts are being made to raise a crop of fast bowlers to meet the increasing challenge. The Denis Lillee Foundation in Madras is one such laudable effort. The complementary scheme started by the Sports Authority of India at Gwalior is welcome. I am told one more such academy will soon come up at Chandigarh so that in course of time India too will have a set of pace bowlers.

Young Madhav Rao Scindia, the present Board President, is a fine cricketer and used to help Lok Sabha win the matches between the two Houses. He may be occasionally regretting that he had missed the place that Duleep Singh and Pataudi held in Indian cricket. I have every confidence that under his stewardship India will march forward to great glory in international cricket competitions.

The contribution of Madras to cricket in the country, as in most other walks of life, has been immense. I would like to express my appreciation to 'MAC' as he is familiarly known for the yeoman service he had rendered to cricket in Tamil Nadu. The magnificent stadium bears testimony to his initiative and enterprise. For over two decades he has been the guiding star of the Tamil Nadu Cricket Association and has brought to bear on the task his managerial abilities, dynamism and sportsmanship qualities. I am also happy to learn that M.A. Chidambaram's good work is being carried on in the correct and expected lines by Balu Alaganan, the present President of the Tamil Nadu Cricket Association, who has also the distinction of having led Madras in their Ranji Trophy triumph.

May your Association continue the sterling work, reach and cross the most coveted milestone in the game of cricket, a century!

I have great pleasure in inaugurating the diamond jubilee celebrations of the Tamil Nadu Cricket Association.

In Renunciation Lies Happiness

I AM INDEED very happy to have this opportunity of visiting one of the finest institutions in India that I have seen. I have gone around many parts of this country and I have seen a large number of institutions doing social and public service. The Dayalbagh institution is one such and in my opinion, a unique one.

When one comes into this atmosphere one finds that he is in a totally different climate and environment from the usual things that he meets in ordinary life. There is a halo about this place. There is a sanctity about this place. There is a divinity about this place. There is a practicality about this place. There is educational atmosphere in this place. A research aroma surrounds all this place. And above all, a spirit of service and dedication permeates the whole. It's indeed very fortunate that all of you have such a rare combination of all that is best in life for you.

Modern society grows on scientific and technological progress. Without science and technology the society would have been in the same medieval state of affairs in which we were during the 14th and 15th centuries. Thanks to the Industrial Revolution, the mechanization which brought about the easing of the manual and physical burdens of life, have also placed at the disposal of man certain areas which would not be possible to conquer without the aid of science and technology. We are able to send men into the orbit, we are able to put up satellites and be able to communicate from one part of the globe to another in a trice. All these have certainly helped in making life of the modern man very much more comfortable than it had been before. But that by itself does not solve the human problems or that does not by itself bring about human happiness. Happiness is a thing which is totally beyond the scientific and technological development. It is a matter of the mind. People in very poor circumstances are very happy. People even undergoing some of the worst sufferings are mentally very happy. All our martyrs who faced death at the altar, at the gunpoint and so on, they were not unhappy. As martyrs they were happy. They were happy to be martyrs and lose their life. Therefore, happiness is not what you get by way of half-a-dozen television sets or telephonic equipment and so on. It's the mind that must be happy. It must develop the ability to face the problems of life and make peace with oneself and in the environment that one lives in.

What is the difference between Eastern and Western philosophy. In the Western philosophy, acquisition and more acquisition brings happiness. You have certain wants. You satisfy them, that immediately excites further wants which you want to satisfy. A family with one car cannot get on with one, it must have two, a family with two cars cannot get on with two, it must have three or four and so on. We were happy with one television set but now we

want another television set in the kitchen, the third one in the drawing room, a fourth in the bedroom. In fact, it is the exaggeration of wants that characterizes the Western philosophy. And what is Eastern philosophy? Renunciation brings happiness. You have the Brahmcharya, the Garhastha and then comes the change. You have the Vanprastha where you go on slowly denuding yourself of all the paraphernalia and reach a stage where you renounce the things and you find happiness in renunciation. In fact, in the Sanskrit verse, it has been made amply clear:

‘न कर्मणा न प्रजया न धनेन’

Neither following the rituals, nor having progeny nor enormous wealth; but ‘त्यागेन एकेन अमृतम् अंशुः’

It is only by *tyaga*, or renunciation “त्यागेन एकेन”, only by *tyaga*, that you will achieve happiness. Therefore, the combination of these two ideals in one place, of trying to expand man’s horizon of knowledge, harnessing nature to man’s benefit should go side by side, hand in glove with the philosophy of renunciation, of *tyaga*, of service to the humanity and service to the people. It is because we have missed this fundamental characteristic of our Eastern philosophy that most of our problems have arisen in the world today. We imitate the West and we try to think that is a better way of life. If that were so, why is it that there are so many suicides in Sweden, which is one of the richest countries in the world? If that were so, why is it that there is so much crime still in the Western countries? We have lost the moorings; we have to bring it back; we have to build ourselves again into that mould in which we were originally cast, with the priority being accorded to service.

In this institution you have excellent technical courses. I was deeply impressed with your electronic section. I am deeply impressed with all your scientific sections. But at the same time you have made them also work with hand, which nobody does. In fact, the British introduced university education in India not for the purpose of giving the natives wisdom and knowledge but only for the purpose of recruiting enough clerks and subordinates for their vast empire. They could not import all these people from England so they wanted local recruits and they introduced this Western system of education and established universities. And so, whoever got through the university with a parchment paper will become eligible for employment in the government. In their own country, they did not establish Oxford and Cambridge for the purpose of recruiting people to the government services. In fact, scholars from all over the world, even during the Middle Ages, went to Oxford and Cambridge for the purpose of increasing their knowledge. But in our case it was a passport for employment. And, therefore, people thought that they should not do any manual work; that doing manual work was *infra dig*. In fact, I have known students who have passed BA degree examination, refusing even to attend to their own farms which they allow to go waste and then they loiter in the streets unemployed. Now this has been cured in Dayalbagh. Everybody is made to work, is given the lesson in the dignity of

labour, and made to feel that not only work is dignified but work is also worship.

Such institutions are necessary all over the country. There are some institutions in other places also and I have been associated with one of them. The basic philosophy in all these things is: First of all, you must develop a spiritual attitude to life. You should not think that merely acquiring more and more property, wealth, etc. is the be all and end all of life. We must recognize there is a Superior Being who guides all of us and to whom we are answerable for our deeds as well as misdeeds. If we do not realize this, there will be no internal check, subjective check on man. Look at the primitive society. In the primitive society, each man struggled for his existence and indulged in violence, and strong man the mighty had his way. But when societies slowly progressed, then we had to adopt a certain measure of discipline so that one does not interfere with the rights or liberties and entitlements of another. This was enforced by the State. But how can the State enforce everything. If 90 per cent of the people start stealing, the State cannot enforce any law. It is only because 90 per cent of the people are honest and 10 per cent of the people are dishonest that the State is able to regulate and see that dishonesty is punished. And in order that a man may be innately honest, innately just, innately good, innately proper, there must be some faith in a Superior Being who has ordained this cosmos of society, to live in peace and harmony with each other and, therefore, in order to do that, one must develop subjective checks. Those subjective checks may prevent a man from committing an offence, committing a crime, uttering falsehoods, cheating, etc. Take your own case. You are honest not because you are afraid that you will be charged by the police. You are honest because you think it is your primary duty to yourself and to the society in which you live, to be honest and just so that the society may live in peace and harmony. If you have to enforce all these things by the rule of law and arms of the government, then there will be chaos. That subjective check which emanates in man from his conscience is really what we call spirituality. If you look at the whole concept of spirituality, it arises from the fact that you must observe normal moral codes of conduct so that the society may live in harmony, that you may live in peace with others, the other people can live in peace with you and so on. Merely going to a temple and praying all the time without being honest, fair, just and good will not bring you salvation. All the texts tell you that. It will not, it will not bring you salvation. What will bring salvation is really what you, as a citizen, as a person, as an individual, do in order to maintain the highest standard of conduct, of probity, of goodness, of justice, and so on. Institutions must develop this spirit. Along with all the modern amenities and so on the basic instruction should be this. Unfortunately, in our colleges and universities there is no provision at all for this kind of instruction. Even in our school days there used to be one hour in a week devoted to moral instruction. Either we have become so moral that we don't require any instructions or the instructors themselves have no morals so that there is no need for them and they should not continue.

I am deeply impressed with the visit. I carry very cherished memories of this visit. I am quite sure that under the able guidance of Guru Maharaj and others, this institution will become a model for the rest of the country, to follow. In fact, it should be the endeavour of the Government to take children from other parts to come and stay for a week or so in places like this, so they may imbibe the spirit and learn from the kind of disciplined life that exists here.

May I wish you Godspeed and all success in your endeavours, in your future.

Developing a Sports Ethos

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to give away the prestigious Arjuna and the Dronacharya Awards, and the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Trophy. I extend my greetings and felicitations to all the winners of these awards.

It is significant that these awards are being conferred on the eve of the Summer Olympic Games at Barcelona. It enables us to assess the standards and performance of Indian sports against prevailing Asian and world standards. Such an assessment, I regret to say, leads us to conclude that, barring a few exceptions—notably represented by the awardees present here today—our overall competitiveness in international sports is well below both our country's expectations and potential.

The question naturally arises: Why are we in this situation, and, what can we do about it? The possible answer to both these questions has been the subject of discussion in Parliament, government and the media, and the people at large. But discussions are not a substitute for solutions. Discussions are of use if they lead to effective action.

In the field of sports, we, as a nation, tend to oscillate between peaks of euphoria at our occasional successes, to troughs of disappointment at our frequent failures. There is no consistent and balanced effort to bring about a qualitative change in the overall level of our achievement in sports.

This is all the more surprising because we have a rich heritage of excellence in traditional sports and indigenous games. Our Gurukulas of ancient times were renowned for the emphasis they placed on physical fitness and the fostering of skills in the athletic and martial arts. The balanced development of mind and body appears to have been the pervasive dictum of the training schools for our young, in the past. In those times, sports were also much more an integral part of the very rhythm and pace of daily life.

Obviously something has gone wrong today. There is no doubt that the colonial interregnum dealt a lethal blow to the continued growth of our

traditional sports. But its impact was far more deleterious in consciously making sports a preserve of the elite. Only those in the very top crust qualified to rub shoulders with the white man on the cricket ground or the tennis court. The rest, constituting the vast majority, were mostly not even privileged to be spectators.

I am aware that following Independence much has been done to correct this situation. But obviously, much more needs to be done. We are a nation of over 800 million. If an institutional system to tap and train talent from such a wide base existed, we would, by now, have had not only a few isolated pinnacles of success, but an entire Himalayan range of excellence and achievement. There are too few among us who are Arjunas, and even fewer who are Dronacharyas. Smaller countries with lesser resources have made a mark in international sports, while we are content, quite often, to merely qualify for competitive events.

It is time, therefore, that we pragmatically draw the right lessons from our performance thus far, and prepare a long term and effective strategy to achieve international standards.

The key to the whole process of developing an effective sports infrastructure with effective and comprehensive participation by as many young boys and girls as possible, is to be found in the partial reorientation of our education system. Two steps would appear to be indispensable in this regard. Firstly, physical education and sports must become an integral part of the school curriculum and must contribute to the final evaluation of the students' performance. Secondly, education itself, particularly at the primary level, must be universal and compulsory. These steps will enable us to tap the latent skills available in the country as a whole.

The principal difficulty in implementing these ideas is no doubt financial. The allocations made by the Central and State Governments, and also by the private sector, to education, and within education to sports and physical activities, do not compare with similar investments in other countries of the Third World, let alone countries of the developed world. We have to seriously consider how this constraint can be overcome. Moreover, the investment of resources on primary education, and within primary education on physical education and sports, can never be wasted, as it will lead to the total development of each child.

This may, perhaps require sacrifices in other areas but, given the numerous benefits which will flow, not only in the field of sports but in every aspect of human life, and indeed in every aspect of national development, the efforts will not go waste.

In discussing these matters, I do not wish to move away from the joyous nature of this occasion. Indeed, I feel that it is all the more extraordinary that some of our athletes, sports persons and coaches are able to come up to international levels, despite all the handicaps faced by them. It is indeed a tribute to their spirit of dedication and determination.

Before I conclude, I would like to mention that you, the winners of these awards, enjoy a special place in the hearts and minds of our people. Sports do

not recognize barriers of language, religion, creed or caste and sports persons are all the time engaged in winning honour and glory not only to themselves but to the nation as a whole. Here we see the spirit of national integration in action. Millions of people throughout India, share your sense of pride.

You also have a special role in serving as an example to the younger generation. The youth of our country, given proper leadership and training, are capable of reaching tremendous heights. We need to identify talent when still young, and nurture and groom it in an institutional way, so that it blossoms forth into world-class performances.

I am confident that all of you will continue to perform to the best of your ability and achieve even greater heights in the future.

I once again congratulate the winners of the Arjuna Awards, the Dronacharya Awards and the Maulana Azad Trophy on their achievements. May these awards light a million torches of excellence in the field of sports.

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"India is a mosaic of cultures. It is in our nature and instinct to seek to live in peace with our neighbours and strive for a non-violent world order".

R. Venkataraman

